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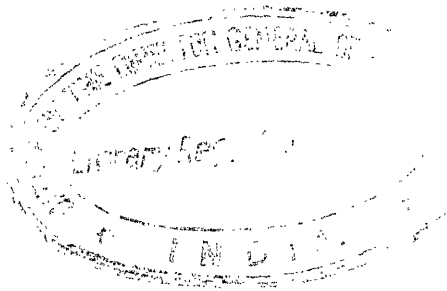
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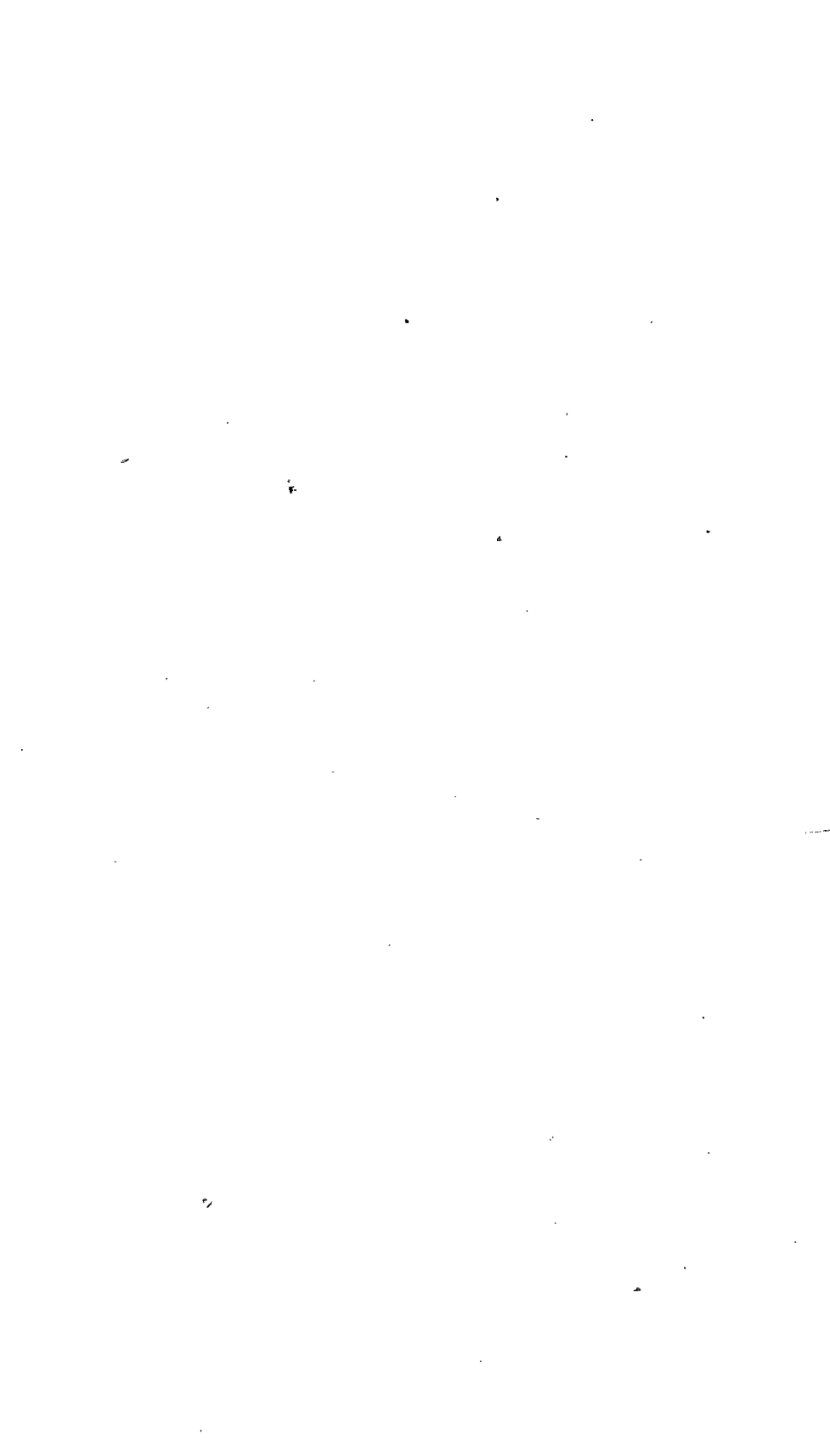
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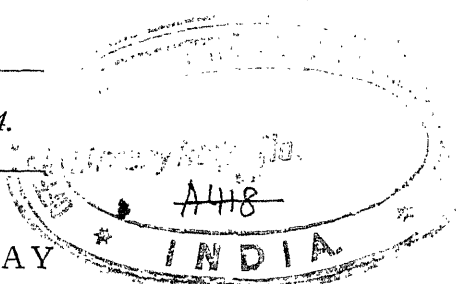


# THE ASIATIC REVIEW



APRIL, 1914.

YESTERDAY



By MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

## I

ARE these the streets that I used to know . . .  
Was it yesterday or æons ago ?  
Where are the armies that used to wait,  
The pilgrims of love at your palace gate ?  
The joyous anthems that thrilled the air,  
The pageants that shone through your palace square,  
And the minstrel music that used to ring,  
Through your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

## II

O heart that solaced a people's cry  
With the sumptuous bounty of Hatim Tai !  
O hands that succoured a sad world's need  
With the splendour of Harun-al-Rasheed !  
Where are the days that were winged and clad  
In the fabulous glamour of old Baghdad,  
And the bird of glory that used to sing  
In your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

\* \* \* \* \*



## III

O Love! in your kingdom there is no change,  
 'Tis only my soul that hath grown so strange.  
 So faint with sorrow, it cannot hear  
 Aught save the chant at your rose-crowned bier.  
 O Love! my bosom hath grown too cold  
 To clasp the beauty it treasured of old,  
 The grace of life and the gifts of spring,  
 And the dreams I cherished . . . when you were king.

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## TURKEY AND THE SICILIAN VESPERS

BY THE HON. AUBREY HERBERT, M.P.

THERE is not one of the difficulties with which the Ottoman Empire is faced at the present moment that would not in itself afford materials for forming a library, and consequently in the space of one short article it is impossible to deal adequately with the situation. The outstanding points which strike those of us who are acquainted with the Near East are the spirit of burning resentment that extends through all Muhammadan countries at the physical and tangible injustices which have been perpetrated upon Turkey, and the obstacles which the Turks meet, not only when they attempt to obtain justice, but even when they try to make their case known.

TILL very recently in the eyes of our own Press the Balkan States could do no wrong. The fact that they had massacred between three and five hundred thousand Moslems, with every conceivable circumstance of horror and savagery, has done something to shake the faith of Europe in their Christianity. The fact that they have repudiated their own treaties, and that their brotherhood has turned to an almost animal hate, has convinced the West that they are not the legitimate descendants of Richard Cœur de Lion. And lastly, the usurious haggling over the blood-stained spoils has confirmed the reputations of Servia and Montenegro for a passionate shortsighted cupidity.

The anger which is felt from and beyond India to Adrianople at the treatment meted out to the Turks is

Empire compel us to take up an anti-Turkish attitude upon this question of the islands. Surely in this instance statesmanship must urge what sentiment should prompt. England must desire to see a solution at least more than temporary of the present problem. Treat the islands with liberality and consideration. Let everything be done that can be done for the inhabitants short of giving them power to create chaos in Asia Minor. But the only guarantee of future quiet is their incorporation in the Ottoman Empire.

Europe is constantly reproached that the Great Powers were physicians who would not heal, and heirs that dared not inherit. And if the islands are divided upon the present basis indicated by European diplomacy, the truth of this adage will have been proved with rare cynicism. For there is not one argument which gives Tenedos and Imbros to Turkey which does not *à fortiori* give her also Chios and Mytilene.

All these islands are adjacent to the coast of Turkey. In all, or nearly all, of them the population is predominantly Greek. Some are to remain inherent parts of the Ottoman Empire because their cession to Greece might create a danger to the food-supply of the West; others, whose cession can only create a wound and a fresh menace to Turkey, are apparently for that very reason to be ceded to Greece.

## THE DARKNESS OVER EGYPT

By H. M. H.

THE long-continued absence of practically all discussion or even mention of Egyptian internal affairs from the British Press is not indicative of a healthy condition either in Egypt itself or in the mentality of a people who profess to combine democracy with Imperialism.

In Egypt the superficial quiet is that of suppressed discontent—of a sullen, hopeless mistrust towards the Government of the Occupation. Certain recent happenings have strengthened in Egyptians the conviction that the Government is making preparations for the complete annexation of the country.

Foremost among these has been the transformation of the *Awkaf* (the administration of these religious trusts is now taken entirely out of the Khedive's hands) into a ministry, the Khedive merely retaining the privilege of nominating the Minister and the Secretary of State for that department. It is significant that Lord Kitchener demanded the dismissal of certain of the Khedive's intimate advisers who formed an opposition to prevent the arbitrary cession to the Occupation of the only real power in the affairs of the country remaining with the Khedive.

The point at issue was not that of expediency, but of principle. The mismanagement of the Khedive in the financial affairs of the *Awkaf* would probably not be denied and hardly defended by anyone. The budget of the de-

partment remains separate ; its high council retains its executive powers ; therefore it may reasonably be hoped that its administration will be greatly amended by the change. It is rather that the Egyptians believe that they see beneath the immediate reformation the first step in a design to ultimately wrest from them the control of this last native stronghold.

Another fertile grievance is the allocation of the national expenditure. It must be remembered that the National Assembly has no voice in military or financial affairs, and that its powers on all subjects are practically limited to a register of opinion. If it record an adverse vote on any proposed measure three times, the Government has the power to command its dissolution. Naturally then, since the Egyptian Budget is provided by Egyptian taxation while the Egyptian tax-payer has no official power over its expenditure, criticism is the more sensitive, the more suspicious, in that it has no recognized outlet, no means of redress.

The projected erection, at great cost, of a double line of military forts between Cairo and the Red Sea on the east, and separating Tripoli on the west, is viewed, not as a necessity for adequate defence, but as a stratagem to cut off Egypt from her natural allies should occasion arise ; her isolation behind these ramparts making her subjugation more secure.

Again, the new barracks at Heaouan have been built with Egyptian money ; and to facilitate the conveyance of troops and military requirements a further large sum has been expended in making a new road from Cairo to Heaouan. This road and the Nile run side by side, and the former is quite an unnecessary expense, from their point of view, to the people of the country. It is a purely military convenience.

Another road, built from Sakkara to Cairo at a cost of £60,000 merely to convey the statue of Rameses II. from the desert to adorn the new square at Cairo station, repre-

sents, to the Egyptian mind, nothing but a wanton extravagance to foster an Imperial vanity not far removed from snobbery.

The large military expenditure is all the more the subject of adverse criticism in that the education of the people has not improved during the British occupation, and is admittedly in a very backward state, and that the urgent desire of Egyptians for a more adequate grant is refused on the plea that no more money is available.

There are many elementary schools; of secondary schools there are only three in Cairo, two in Alexandria, one in Tanta; and it is the universal complaint that the teaching in both grades is not only deficient but has not been adapted to the needs of the students. For example, no Muhammadan history of the Arabs or, indeed, of the country is taught. Of higher schools, there is one each of law, medicine, commerce, agriculture, and for training teachers—all in Cairo. With regard to these, the complaint is of superficiality; that the students cannot obtain a thorough knowledge of their subject, but are turned out fit only to take subordinate positions in the Government service.

Yet another cause of discontent among students is found in the Egyptian Educational Mission, endowed annually with £10,000 from Egyptian finances. It consists of six members; one Egyptian and one native for each of the countries England, France, and Switzerland. Its object is to look after the interests of the Egyptian student abroad, and to advise him in the matter of his training. Its methods have been the subject of severe public criticism in Switzerland, and in a lesser degree in France. It is complained that the advisers show no knowledge of schools and colleges, and that the advice given is frequently not merely erroneous, but injurious to the intending student. In some cases the students have been warned that they will not be admitted to the principal schools in this country, and have been recommended to inferior ones of no standing. Some

students have unfortunately acted on the advice given ; others, with greater wisdom, have applied to the principal schools in London and Edinburgh, and have been admitted without question or delay. The whole position of the Mission is a source of angry discussion among students in Europe, who allege that the amount of money allotted is altogether disproportionate to the very doubtful advantages accruing, and who do not hesitate to profess their belief that the scheme has no other intention than that of political surveillance.

We are not now concerned to question how far the motives attributed to the Government are true. The essential fact is that the Government of the Occupation has not yet succeeded in endearing, or even recommending, itself to the Egyptian people, but is, on the contrary, an object of suspicion, an occasion of enmity. Therefore we cannot justify to them the great military expenditure, the consequent parsimony in education, as a necessity for the protection of Egypt, for, unhappily, we are not warranted in supposing that either the fellahen or the educated Egyptian seriously prefer—if there must be a foreign occupation—British, to, let us say, French rule, or would make any willing sacrifice to keep us in possession. Neither can we appeal to them in defence of the Press Laws. Since, then, we have failed to win their confidence, let us not mistake servility for enthusiasm. In this connection Mr. Kyriakos Mikhail refers to the device of a native newspaper which wished to make some criticism on the Government. "It published a column of the most servile flattery of Lord Kitchener, and at the end of the article expressed in a few lines its real object. I cannot believe that such flattery is pleasant to Lord Kitchener, or that it influences him in the least. Such a state of affairs will naturally cause moral defects, and Egypt will soon have a race of journalists rivalling the courtiers of the ex-Sultan for sycophancy."\*

\* "The Freedom of the Press in Egypt," Kyriakos Mikhail.

Within the last three years eleven newspapers have been suppressed, of which seven were Nationalist. The *Shaab* is the only Nationalist paper remaining; yet the results of the last elections proved how strong is the Nationalist feeling in Egypt to-day in spite of the determined attempts to stamp out all freedom of political opinion. As might be expected, this wholesale muzzling of the Press has not only reduced the Muhammadan majority to a condition of internal ferment, but has seriously alienated the hitherto loyal Copts. The position forms a significant parallel to that in India, where recent prosecutions of the Muhammadan Press have bitterly estranged the loyal Muslim minority.

It may be that the Government can discover no better means of recommending itself to the confidence and goodwill of the Egyptian people; it may be that only by the instant repression of every outward sign of discontent can it feel secure in its Occupation; but if such be the case, it is an admission of extreme weakness, of recognized insecurity of tenure, and it may be doubted whether such a policy of secrecy is altogether advantageous to the British public who are ultimately responsible for, and will certainly suffer from, any adverse consequences of a mistaken method.

Egypt, though a subject of profound indifference to the English voter, is being feverishly watched by the Indian Muhammadans, and by the whole of our West and Central African subjects—themselves strongly Muhammadan in sympathy, and at the present time jealously suspicious of the political activities of Christian Imperialism.

The failure of the Government is psychological; its security depends on its power of rapid readjustment.

This is an age of material considerations, yet few will be hardy enough to deny that the only possibility of Empire in the future lies in the psychological harmony of the component parts with the Central Government.



## PROGRESS OR REVERSE IN JAPAN

BY T. G. KOMAI OF TOKIO

IN the administration of State affairs Prince Katsura was the only man of resource available in Japan at his time, one ever ready to compromise with the strongest political opponents. He held the reins of the State for a comparatively long period, having formed a Cabinet of his own on three occasions, including the longest and the shortest that ever existed in Japan. During his eventful tenure of office, he succeeded in securing the highest honours, and attained a rank almost equal to that of Prince Ito himself. But there was a marked contrast in the career of the two men.

Prince Katsura had from the first been one of Fortune's greatest favourites, except during his last appearance on the public stage. He did his best to assimilate in his own conduct the better elements of the characters of three most distinguished "Genro," or Elder, Statesmen of the Chōshū Clan—viz., Prince Yamagata, Prince Ito, and Marquis Inouye.

Prince Yamagata was, as is well known, a great military organizer, Marquis Inouye proved a financial genius, and Prince Ito was admittedly an all-round statesman of a very high order, or (as they say in Japan) "brilliantly eight-sided." Now, Prince Katsura's ambition led him, a General and ex-Minister of War, to undertake concurrently with the Premiership, the portfolio of the Minister of Finance. In consequence of this over-weaning self-confidence, he received the nickname of "more than eight-sided," or, indeed, "delightfully sixteen-sided"! By thus combining the characteristics of all three statesmen, it is

evident that he wanted to become in his own person the Trinity of the Chōshū "Genrō"!

Prince Katsura was a fine soldier as well as an able statesman, but he was not fitted to play the part of an effective leader of Opposition, a rôle which he attempted after his fall from power early last year. He lacked the gift of eloquence, and was incapable of conducting an effective fight in Parliament against political opponents, yet he did his best to form a strong party under his own leadership and failed. Nobody in Japan could but sympathize with him in the last pitiful scene of his political life.

Apart from this final failure, his career had been one of the most splendid in the whole history of the country; for he was one of the most talented of the men of the Meiji Era. On the death of the late Emperor, he was appointed Grand Chamberlain and Lord of the Privy Seal, appointments which are usually looked upon in Japan as the conclusion of the political life of a statesman. The public having clamorously protested against his direct access to the Sovereign through these appointments owing to his reputed lack of straightforwardness, Prince Katsura, to appease the opposition, publicly declared that he had renounced all his political ambition, and would never again emerge from the remote recesses of the Imperial Household. Yet a little while after he completely ignored his promise, and resumed his usual political life, to the great indignation of the people. He never was a constitutional statesman. He was always ready to carry out his plans quite regardless of the means, however reprehensible. He elbowed all rivals aside, and ran down all opponents, while he upheld his own partisans through thick and thin. In a word, he firmly believed that the end justified the means. To any of the close students of political affairs in Japan, it is clear that Prince Katsura had been buried spiritually long before his sacred remains were interred on October 19 last, with the somewhat pompous rites of Buddhism, at the Zohjohji Temple, Tokio. Early last year the populace was stirred up by

the vociferous cries of "Protect the Constitution!" and "Abolish the Clan system!" It was indeed a great mistake on the part of Prince Katsura to try to form a strong political party of his own while leading the coalition and holding the position of Premier in his third Ministry. He was thoroughly misled by his advisers, or, rather, he was quite blind to the signs of the times, in contrast to the clear insight and straightforward conduct of Prince Ito in similar circumstances. Prince Katsura only realized the importance of recruiting partisans for himself, and never understood the real value of paying heed to the voice of the people! With autocratic hand he dissolved the House of Commons twice, and he on several occasions suspended the whole Diet. We still look back with inexpressible pleasure to his first Ministry, when we concluded the all-important Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and successfully fought Russia. These two events in our history helped to raise Prince Katsura to a place of exceptional prominence. During his second Ministry, Japan carried out the annexation of Korea, and renewed her treaties with the Powers. But to a fair-minded Japanese it seems that the Premier was only reaping what others had sown! Just as in private life he divorced three wives in succession for mere reasons of caprice, so in public life he kept on chopping and changing without apparent reasons until he confused the public conscience, and made hosts of political enemies.

It is extremely interesting to note that Admiral Count Yamamoto, who, while Navy Minister during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05, was keen enough to appoint Admiral Togo the Commander-in-Chief of our Japanese Combined Squadron, immediately grasped the helm of State by accepting the succession of Prince Katsura, a representative of the Satsuma Clan thus following one of the Chōshū Clan. The Army, as represented by ex-Premier General Prince Katsura, was forced to transfer the reins of the State to the Navy, which was thus far adequately represented by Admiral Count Yamamoto. The latter has

most effectively compromised with the Constitutional party (Seiyūkwa), or, rather, has coerced it into supporting him.

Ever since Admiral Yamamoto became the Prime Minister early last spring, he has most strenuously exerted himself in settling all-important domestic affairs. Although he belongs to the Satsuma Clan, he is generally regarded as one who is much less influenced by clan prejudices than the rest of his colleagues. As he successfully proved himself one of the most brilliant, serious, and determined men of action in the past, so he is now trying to show himself equal to his own past in his new statesmanship.

The adjustment of State expenditure, which has been one of the greatest problems in the Japanese political life since 1886, has been effectively carried through by the present Yamamoto Cabinet. Some 6,400 Government officials throughout the country have been dismissed, thus saving the State some 4,000,000 yen per year. Altogether 166 changes were made in the regulations affecting the State departments, including the abolition of several offices and bureaux, the total expense saved by this adjustment amounting to 58,087,300 yen per annum.

Our Budget for the year 1914 is characterized by a most happy innovation, one absolutely unprecedented in the long annals of our 2,574 years of written history. It shows a surplus of 123,500,000 yen, made up as follows: 76,000,000 yen, the amount brought forward from the balance of 1912, together with that saved up through the readjustments of 1913; 42,978,100 yen, the amount saved through the continuous readjustments of 1914; 4,572,900 yen, the natural increase of our revenue, after deducting 12,200,000 yen, due to the deduction of the national taxes.

Under the circumstances, Japan is enjoying the delightful atmosphere of a financial spring. There is some political agitation in the country in favour of the reduction or abolition of certain exceptionally burdensome taxes, such as, for instance, transit duty, duty on textiles, business tax. Some of the parties demand sweeping reductions, as, for

instance, 30,000,000 yen by the newly formed Katsura's party under Baron Kato; 50,000,000 yen by the Press, representing the general public; and 70,000,000 yen by the national Opposition under Mr. Inukai.

Japan is thus still enjoying a steady progress in prosperity and in the more widespread adoption of Western civilization, which seems to go on unchecked, and which is accompanied with a yearly increase of population of more than half a million to fill the newly acquired territories of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and Saghalien. The two clans of Chōshū and Satsuma, which seemed to have monopolized the Japanese Army and Navy respectively, are no longer able to supply the ever-increasing number of officers needed. Whereas formerly Japan had only one General and six Lieutenant-Generals and Vice-Admirals in the Army and Navy in 1878, she now has twenty Generals and Admirals and sixty Lieutenant-Generals and Vice-Admirals. The Budget of 60,000,000 yen in the early part of the Meiji Era has now become 641,230,556 yen. With an army of nineteen divisions, besides those garrisoned in the four newly acquired territories, one leading clan can never furnish a sufficient number of men adequately to control the whole organization.

The recent failure of the late Prince Katsura was but the beginning of the end of the long prosperity of clanism in Japan! They have long since lost substantial power, and resemble an old hollowed tree, which seemed whole and sound. They have presented this aspect by their maintenance of official dignities of one kind and another; but now that they have been unveiled, their inward weakness and infirmity are exposed! This state recalls to me the eloquent words of Tennyson:

"Dust are our frames; and, gilded dust, our pride  
Looks only for a moment whole and sound;  
Like that long-buried body of the king,  
Found lying with his urns and ornaments,  
Which at a touch of light, an air of heaven,  
Slipt into ashes, and was found no more."

The late Prince Ito, General Nogi, and Yoshida Shōin, their great moral teacher, rank side by side with Prince Field-Marshal Yamagata, the late Prince, General Katsura, and General Count Terauchi as distinguished representatives of the Chōshū men. Unquestionably the Chōshū Clan has produced many a brilliant and useful character, and has done much to bring into existence the Japan of the Meiji Era. But now that their work is done, and their energy apparently exhausted, it is pleasing to note that the Chōshū Clan system is steadily declining under the new régime of "great rectitude"—the Taishō Era!

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND SOCIAL REFORM VIA EDUCATIONAL REFORM

BY CAPTAIN J. W. PETAVEL, R.E. (RETIRED)

IDEAS make their appearance in the world like lights in a town after sunset ; a new idea shines forth from a number of minds at once, and spreads over the world, starting from many centres. In some cases the reason for this is quite plain, for some ideas belong clearly to the time in which they appear, and that is the case with social reform via educational reform, the idea which is now raising great hopes in the breasts of reformers, both of the East and of the West.

Of all plans of social reform that have ever been put forward this one can claim to be the simplest. Industrial progress and progress in agricultural methods have rendered possible the employment of large numbers of quite unpractised workers, with just a few skilled leading-hands, and the result is that, doing things in a sufficiently large way, we are able to organize people of any trade, or of no trade, and even of no skill, with only a small proportion of skilled workers, to produce the main necessities of life for their own use and consumption. The Swiss have done this so successfully as to make their prisoners and social failures entirely self-supporting.

Now from this economic fact certain things follow which are of the greatest possible importance in connection with popular education. Educationalists are agreed about the

immense value of "training the mind through the hand and the eye." Wherever this method has been introduced the best results have followed. The report of Dr. Verschensteiner to the German Agricultural Society on his experiments in that direction in the schools of Munich is most striking. The following is a brief extract from it :

"What was the result of giving all boys without exception in their eighth year of school life a kind of instruction which took them by the heart, because it was in harmony not only with their nature, but, also, with their social or home life? Of about 2,200 boys who in the last school year left the highest class of our elementary schools, 2,150 went at once to hand-work or some other skilled occupation. The children had tasted the joy of solid, practical work, and the abandonment of skilled occupation was at an end. . . . *The first cause is undoubtedly the pleasure in the hand-work itself which the well-thought-out instruction given by artisans has created in the boys in the elementary schools. You can judge what an advantage, not only for our industries, but also for education as a whole, is thus obtained if you remember that it is only boys and girls who are interested in their work who can be educated. It is not only that serious and thorough work is in itself an important factor in education; the soul of the child under the influence of its joy in work becomes more receptive to our teaching—we win its heart through that joy, and at the same time we gain power to influence all its other likings.*"

The part we have italicized disposes of any contention that manual training is useful principally to those who are to be artisans. All alike benefit by "the training of the mind through the hand and the eye."

One great need, then, is to develop everywhere this system of training, and another need quite as urgent is to raise the school age. It is a physiological fact that youths up to the age of about eighteen are highly susceptible to influences, both moral and physical, alike for good and for bad. Great stress was laid on this in the report of



the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.

Hitherto the difficulty in the way, both of manual training and of raising the school-age, has been the cost and the sacrifices to parents, who often need their children's help at the earliest possible moment. Now, however, with the experience we have had of organizations producing things for the use of their own workers, we see that, if we introduced manual training into the schools, we might follow the period of schooling proper by one during which the boys would be employed, under the best and most instructive conditions, producing the main necessities of life for themselves, and for their parents when it was necessary to help them. This organization of youths would be able, besides, to produce food for the school-children's meals, and to do a variety of work for the educational department. There would be many things, of course, that it would not be able to produce for itself; but, on the other hand, it could render such services as those mentioned above to the public in exchange for what they received from it.

There are different ways of looking at this plan of self-supporting, or partly self-supporting, popular education, and its advantages, both educational and economic, are the most clearly apparent when we consider that agriculture would be the principal work of the establishments in which the youths would be employed.

A man cannot be the best specialist unless he has first learnt to be versatile, and he can never be sure of a living unless he has a second string to his industrial bow. In these days of minute specialization, therefore, the most important function of a popular educational system should be to give boys a training in versatility and a second string to their bow.

Many countries have a period of military service to teach their young men to be versatile, and develop them physically. A period of agricultural work, including as many

industries as possible producing things for the use of the workers themselves, would be the best substitute in countries which have not conscription.

Agriculture on a large scale combines everything that is required to make it the ideal preparation for every working lad's vocational training. Involving as it does mechanical work and all kinds of craftsmanship, it is the best employment to give training in versatility ; agriculture, again, is the natural second string to everyone's industrial bow. Agriculture, finally, as the healthiest of all occupations, is that in which boys should be employed during their years of adolescence, when they are being formed for life.

In all probability an educational-industrial organization would be allowed to sell agricultural produce, as it could do so in most countries, and certainly in Great Britain, without harming private producers. If that could be allowed, the whole educational system could be made self-supporting, and agriculture revived by this system of education. So great is the economic advantage enjoyed by an organization which remunerates its workers with what it produces itself, that the Swiss colony organized on that principle is self-supporting, although it employs vagabonds and workshies.

But the thing that, more than any other, makes the advocates of self-supporting education hope for the greatest results from its adoption, is the moral education it would give.

Children should receive a thoroughly good education and training, and be stinted of nothing that is necessary to make them strong, healthy, and industrially efficient, and they would receive all that, for under this system there would be no need to stint them of anything, because when they were well trained their labour would soon pay for it all. In paying by their labour they would learn that there are duties as well as rights ; giving to their parents and to their country the first-fruits of the care and the training they had received.

In some way or other the trained members of the com-

munity must pay for the education of the children. This way of paying by labour has every advantage on its side.

*Thus we are brought to the realization of the fact, of infinite importance and hopefulness, that, under modern conditions, a thoroughly good educational system, one suited in every way to develop the young people morally, intellectually, and physically, to train them to be industrious and fit them to earn their living, would be, not costly, but, on the contrary, absolutely cheap.* It would be paid for by organized labour. The only sacrifice made by those who gave their labour would be that of receiving their remuneration in kind, instead of in cash. That, however, would be the best possible discipline for them at their age.

This, then, is the plan of social reform the Educational Colonies Association\* has been founded to advocate.

In India educational and social reformers had been thinking along those lines, and the movement, although unorganized, was very extensive indeed. India is quite familiar with the idea of industrial-educational establishments, which have existed from the earliest times in the form of *Gurukulas*, and many reformers in that country entertained hopes of seeing the whole problem of popular education solved by the old system in a modernized form.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore united Eastern and Western reformers who are working for this great and hopeful cause, and under his auspices it was decided to take the first practical steps in India, where the writer of these lines is now engaged in the work.

Indian reformers have shown themselves particularly ready to appreciate the fact that this educational system would furnish a hopeful solution to the whole social question. The educational organization would be nothing more nor less than a great co-operative organization. So that it would not only give us workers who would be worth a good wage, but who would also be in a position to command the wage they were worth; for when the workers

\* 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

have learnt what can be done by co-operation, they will insist on proper conditions of life and labour.

Another thing that India's great poet and educationalist saw correctly was that we must not wait for the Government to realize the great possibilities which modern progress has opened up.

Educational colonies should be started as a private enterprise meeting a very clear need, and which would therefore be put on a sound financial basis.

It would perhaps be difficult to make establishments of this kind industrially successful from the beginning, and on a small scale; but that would not be necessary at first, because there are numbers of parents who would gladly pay a little to have their boys employed for a few years after leaving school at the healthiest work—work that would build up their constitutions and open the widest possible horizon to them.

Thus, from the beginning, educational colonies could be made financially sound undertakings, and as they grew they would become more and more successful commercially, by virtue of the economic fact that the larger an industrial organization the more productive is the labour of every individual employed in it. The more educational colonies grew, therefore, the more boys they would attract to them by the favourable conditions of employment they would be able to offer, until the time came for the Government to take them over, just as it took elementary education over from those who organized it originally.

## GREECE AND THE POSITION IN THE NEAR EAST

BY D. J. CASSAVETTI

THE second Balkan War, little as it was sought after by Greece, had the effect of saving that country from an almost total eclipse in the Balkan Peninsula : Greece, owing to the glory of her ancient monuments, could never be eclipsed entirely. Had those who guided the destinies of Bulgaria not become demoralized by success, and claimed the right to possess, besides Thrace, practically the whole of Macedonia, the terms which Greece had been willing to concede would have placed her in the dilemma of either continuously having to maintain at least 10,000 armed men on the Bulgarian frontier, or else of leaving Salonica at the mercy of a sudden attack by the army of the ambitious Ferdinand.

Savage passions were aroused in connection with the second war, which, to judge from Captain Ivanoff's article published in the February number of this Review, do not seem even now to have abated altogether. In the course of his article this Bulgarian officer tries to prove that the second war was begun, not by the Bulgars, but by the Greeks and Serbs ; and this in spite of the fact that Sofia politicians have been indulging in mutual recriminations over this very subject in their attempt to fix upon the individual among them, be it King Ferdinand, Dr. Daneff, or General Savoff, at whose door must be laid this treacherous act. M. Chedo Mijatovitch, in his article published in the same

number of this Review, replies so fully and conclusively to the general political allegations of Captain Ivanoff that I have nothing to add to what he says. In the course of his article, however, this Bulgarian patriot devotes considerable space to "Greek Excesses during the Second War"; he quotes some extremely misleading statistics in support of his contention that the country over which the Græco-Bulgarian campaign was fought was almost exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians, and consequently the Bulgarian army could not have committed any excesses. The contention is not one which will carry weight; at its best, it rests on an unconvincing argument. Moreover, the purpose of King Constantine's complaints could not, as Captain Ivanoff suggests, have been to divert the attention of Europe from the atrocities of which the Greek troops had been guilty, for the reason that it has never been suggested that they had been guilty of any before then. Whatever disgraceful acts were committed by individual Greek soldiers later, if they exceeded the number which a well-disciplined army can be expected to commit in war, can be ascribed to their justifiable desire for retaliation. In connection with this I should like to say a word about the facsimiles of letters stated to have been found in the captured mail-bag of a Greek infantry regiment, which the Bulgarians have been distributing among all sections of society in this country who are in any way connected with or interested in the Balkans. I consider that it is my duty to warn the public that in several instances the letters in question have been incorrectly translated in such a way as to give the text a worse meaning than can really be extracted from it. Moreover, though they are difficult to prove, there are signs of falsification in some of the letters. However, the misleading translation of certain passages in these letters, which I shall be happy to show to anyone who cares to refer to me, are an indication of the way in which the evidence has been collected, upon which the attack against the conduct of the Greek army has been launched. It is,

however, pleasant to think that one result of the one month's sanguinary war has been to make the recurrence of Macedonian atrocities practically impossible. Macedonia, thanks to the Bulgarian and Servian armies and to the Greek army and navy, is no longer Turkish. Atrocities and atrocity campaigns flourished under the Turkish régime. Macedonia has now been partitioned, and it is almost as difficult to imagine atrocities being committed in Macedonia now as it was in free Greece, free Servia and free Bulgaria before the war.

The Treaty of Bucharest, which accomplished the partition, afforded a more or less satisfactory solution of the rival claims in Macedonia and Thrace. An absolutely strict ethnological partition of territory is never practicable, and was notoriously impossible as between Greece and Bulgaria, owing to the geographical position of Thrace, in which there is a large and important Greek element. The Treaty of Bucharest settled the Serbo-Greek, (subject to the agreement previously entered into between Servia and Greece), the Græco-Bulgarian and the Serbo-Bulgarian frontiers, leaving the Turco-Bulgarian frontier to be settled by the Treaty of Constantinople. There are, however, two other problems in the Near East, the solution of which was in no way furthered by the Treaty of Bucharest. Both of them may be said to owe their existence almost exclusively to Italian aspirations for power in the Eastern Mediterranean. Both these questions deeply affect the interests of Greece, whose misfortune it is that the ambitions of a Great Power tend to interfere with her just claims. The first is that of the southern frontier of the kingdom of Albania, and the second relates to the fate of the Ægean Islands. These two questions, which were both left to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers, are *a priori* completely independent of each other. The first is strictly merely a matter between Greece and Albania, but is confused by the jealous insistence of Italy on claims which she has over the

Adriatic Sea. The second, which is primarily a matter between Greece and Turkey, is complicated by the fact that Italy occupied Rhodes and the Dodekanese during the Turco-Italian War. As, however, the Powers of the Triple Entente are anxious that Italy should evacuate the posts which she had occupied in the Eastern Mediterranean, but take less interest in the control of the Adriatic, the two questions were made interdependent. Support was promised to Mr. Venizelos over the question of the Ægean Islands, provided that Greece waived her claims to part of the district of Northern Epirus which remained in the occupation of her troops. In this connection it should be remembered that Greece had shown restraint in not occupying any territory beyond that which she had good ethnological grounds for claiming, thus indicating that her campaign in Epirus was one of liberation, and not of territorial aggrandizement.

After the failure of the International Commission to delimit the southern frontier of Albania in the central district, the eastern and western extremities having been settled by the Conference of Ambassadors, Sir Edward Grey arbitrarily proposed a frontier which, speaking roughly, followed the shortest line across the debated territory, a frontier which possessed neither geographical, strategic, nor economic merit. This frontier was accepted by the other Great Powers. Sir Edward Grey then proposed a settlement of the Ægean Islands question, which was that Greece should hold all the islands occupied by her except Imbros, Tenedos and the small islands which are marked on some maps as the Rabbit Islands, which lie close to the entrance to the Dardanelles, and Castellorizo, and that Italy should return the remaining islands to Turkey. The other Great Powers adopted this proposal also, Italy's acceptance being qualified by the proviso that her evacuation of the islands must remain subject to Turkey's complete retirement from Cyrenaica, as laid down in the Treaty of Lausanne, and later by a demand



for compensation, in the shape of concessions in Asia Minor, for her outlay in connection with the islands. The proposal, in deference to the representations of the Porte, contained the stipulation that Greece must not fortify the islands near to the coast of Asia Minor, notably Chios and Mytilene. Greece accepted the proposal, but Mr. Venizelos pointed out that, if certain islands were to remain undefended, their immunity from attack ought to be guaranteed by the Great Powers. The Triple Entente Powers seem to have admitted the reasonableness of this contention, but were not followed by the Triple Alliance Powers, who appear to have expressed the view that they would rather that Greece fortified these islands than that they themselves should undertake any obligations with regard to their immunity from attack. Such is the actual position with regard to the *Ægean Islands*.

North Epirus is now the chief centre of disturbance in the Balkans, but Mr. Casanges' article published in the last issue of this Review contains so complete and lucid an explanation of the factors in the situation, that all I can usefully add is that the Epirotes are doing just what Mr. Casanges said that they would do; and it will be surprising if they do not, as the result of their resolute attitude, obtain satisfactory terms, comprising a reasonable measure of autonomy. The Epirus question has practically passed out of the hands of the Hellenic Government which loyally carried out its promise to the Powers to evacuate the contested region.

Such is not the case with the question of the islands. Greece is still in occupation of the whole of those islands which she occupied during the war—namely, all the *Ægean Islands* which before the war had formed part of the Turkish dominions, except Rhodes and the Dodekanese, which Italy had already occupied. In the first place, as regards these islands, Greece is still in the position of *beata possidens*. In the second place, as regards the whole of the islands, Greece has the moral right of being able to claim

all except an insignificant minority of the inhabitants as Greeks. The exact figures are 458,355 Greeks, 26,938 Muhammadans, and 4,567 various; and of these Muhammadans the bulk are of Greek extraction, as shown by their dress and their customs. The following list shows the exact distribution of the population of the islands, those occupied by Italy being distinguished by an asterisk :

		Greeks.	Muhammadans.	Various.
Thasos ...	...	14,940	98	103
Samothrace ...	...	3,700	—	—
Imbros ...	...	8,007	—	—
Lemnos ...	...	20,434	—	—
Tenedos ...	...	4,200	1,300	—
Mytilene ...	...	125,755	14,476	320
Moschonissia ...	...	2,234	—	—
Chios ...	...	71,724	1,950	950
Psarra ...	...	565	—	—
Samos ...	...	50,277	300	340
*Icaria ...	...	14,760	—	—
*Patmos ...	...	3,700	—	—
*Leros ...	...	6,924	—	—
*Calymnos ...	...	19,855	—	—
*Cos ...	...	12,550	2,920	—
*Nissyros ...	...	6,599	—	—
*Astypalea ...	...	1,900	—	—
*Syme ...	...	18,639	—	—
*Telos ...	...	1,850	—	—
*Halke ...	...	3,740	—	—
*Rhodes ...	...	37,777	5,854	2,854
*Carpathos ...	...	9,527	—	—
*Cassos ...	...	6,700	—	—
Castellorizo ...	...	12,000	40	—
		<hr/> 458,355	<hr/> 26,938	<hr/> 4,567

Finally, the islands have enjoyed the right of self-government through several centuries of Turkish domination. Greece was the official language used in the courts, in Government offices, and even in correspondence with the Central Government. So far as the revenue was concerned, in most cases they only paid a form of tribute to the Porte, and could levy and expend their income for their own purposes according to their needs. During the last

fifty years the Turks have repeatedly encroached on the autonomous rights of these islands, under protest from Great Britain and other Powers friendly to Greece. Finally, the Young Turks, under the cloak of extending the political rights of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, succeeded in curtailing the privileges of the islands by bringing them more directly under the administrative organization of the Sublime Porte. They even went so far as to land troops on the island of Samos, which, under a treaty to which Great Britain, France and Russia were parties, enjoyed what was virtually complete autonomy.

The principle underlying Sir Edward Grey's proposal appears to have been that compensation for the loss of part of Epirus should be granted to Greece in connection with the *Ægean Islands*. How any compensation can be given to Greece out of territory which she actually holds (by every imaginable right, including the right of conquest) by Turkey, whose only title to it was that of conquest, and which she forfeited during the war, it is indeed difficult to imagine. Such compensation could only be given in connection with the islands now occupied by Italy. It need hardly be pointed out that Greece, having gained the supremacy at sea, would have occupied Rhodes and the Dodekanese, as well as the other islands, had not Italy seized them. It is monstrous that islands which enjoyed rights of self-government under treaty with the Sultans of Constantinople should have had such rights infringed by a belligerent Power at war with Turkey. At most, the Italian occupation should not have exceeded what was necessary to establish the claim of Italy to such rights of suzerainty as Turkey possessed, and it is sincerely to be hoped that when the Italians evacuate them—Heaven and Signor Giolitti, or his successor, only know when this may be—they will enjoy the full rights which they exercised before the era of "Young Turk" experiments in democracy.

## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

### I.

THE average Briton, with the exception of the few interested in missionary enterprise, regards the inhabitants of Asia Minor as mere savages, and holds, with charming impartiality, that Turks, Armenians, and Kurds are all equally at fault, except that the Armenians, being cowards, make the most noise when they are hurt. And the governing classes share this indifference without the justification of ignorance due to lack of leisure and information. No mistake could be more disastrous in its consequences to all concerned.

The Armenians are a civilized people. All through Armenia are found ruined palaces, fortresses, and monasteries, eloquent of vanished glories. They were among the first to adopt Christianity, and their churches date back to the first centuries of the Christian era. Professor Edgar Banks tells us that the new stone library at Etchmiadzin, in Russian Armenia, contains thousands of ancient Armenian manuscripts, and that there are cuneiform inscriptions in the museum twenty-five centuries old. Armenian learning in the fifth century saved to posterity, by its translations, early writings, the originals of which were afterwards irretrievably lost.

As to the charge of cowardice, Djemal Bey (who became Vali of Adana after the massacres) speaks in the highest

terms of the bravery of the Armenian soldiers under his command during the recent wars, and expresses his belief that the Armenians and Turks together will one day regenerate the Ottoman Empire.

The Kurds are mainly a barbarous people, and are a menace to the Turks no less than to the Armenians. There is no Kurdish nation, no Government, no written language, literature, or schools. The Kurdish movement is limited to a few chiefs, and the Kurds suffer almost as much at the hands of these feudal despots as do their Christian neighbours.

Kurdish villages are groups of hovels, sunk in the ground, lighted by a hole in the roof, and no green thing is found growing in their neighbourhood.

The Armenian villages have churches and schools, and agriculture is generally practised.

Mr. Noel Buxton records the fact that the Turkish Government is often powerless to protect Turks from Kurdish outrage, much less Armenians and other Christians. One can scarcely blame the Turkish Government when one knows something of the Kurds. Take as an example Ismail Aga Simko, who is certainly one of the best and most gifted of the Kurdish chiefs. He hits and splits, at a distance of sixty yards, a cartridge held between the fingers of one of his men ; not now and then, but five times out of six. He has political ambitions, talks of the Kurdish movement, and holds that the Kurds will gain their independence within two years. He asserts that any granting of political privileges by the Powers to the Armenians would not be tolerated for one moment by the Kurds. They would instantly massacre all the Armenians.

Last November, in Paris, I met a young infantry Lieutenant of Kurdish origin, belonging to the family of Salaheddine Eyoubi. He is rich, and his family has great influence in Kurdistan. He told me that the Kurds could never admit the Armenians to political, administrative, and judicial equality.

"We can die, mademoiselle," he said, "but we cannot submit to dishonour. Kurdistan is really our country. The Armenians have only taken refuge with us. Lately they have been infected by some young and ambitious Armenians, poisoned with Occidental ideas. The general Armenian public treats us with respect, but occasionally gets incited by these intriguers to make disturbances. Often the trouble is due to Russian Armenian reactionaries, instigated by the Russian Government."

A reference to the daily atrocities perpetrated on defenceless victims elicited this answer :

"These are the crimes noticeable in any country under similar circumstances. *No one notices these things.* Lately they have been chronicled by Armenian Committees. As for us we only know of an Armenian Question through European newspapers. And autonomy in Armenia is impossible. The *amour propre* of Kurds and Muhammadans would never suffer them to sink to the level of their humble slaves of yesterday. As I said before, we could not survive dishonour, and we do not dread death."

## II.

Albania in Europe, and Armenia in Asia, have hitherto been two of the main centres of unrest in the Ottoman Empire. Both are mountainous countries, but there all resemblance ceases.

Chiefly Muhammadan in religion, Albania was the great stronghold of Abdul Hamid. His bodyguard was always recruited from amongst the Albanians. And yet Albania became the birthplace of the new régime. From thence came the telegram to the Sultan asking him to promulgate the then Constitution, and Abdul Hamid, after a few days' hesitation, acceded to the demand.

"Having given birth to the new Turkey, this wild country plunged her (Turkey) into a disastrous war, which cost Turkey the loss of her European possessions, and finally of Albania herself. And Turkey can now be congratulated on having her hands free from that turbulent country."

This passage from a patriotic Armenian's letter shows the loyalty of the Armenian, despite all he has suffered ; and were all Turkish statesmen as far-seeing as the late Kiamil Pasha and Boghos Nubar Pasha, the Armenian Question would soon cease to exist. Kiamil Pasha was keenly alive to the value of the still unquenched patriotism of the much-tried Armenians, and assured me that the carrying out of reforms in Armenia would be his first care on returning to office.

Boghos Pasha (whom I saw after the Peace Conference in London), less idealistic by nature, pointed out that an enlightened self-interest would insure the carrying out of the promised reforms, as the solvency of the Turkish Empire depended to a very great extent upon the prosperity of Armenia. And the Armenians, he said, preferred to remain Ottoman subjects, provided they received security and justice, as their religion and nationality were safer under Turkish rule than they would be if annexed by any other Power.

The short-sightedness of Turkish statesmen (with too few exceptions) is simply astounding, if we take into consideration the geographical position of Armenia, bordering as it does upon Russia, the natural enemy of the Ottoman Empire. The misgovernment of Armenia is proverbial, and the new régime has not improved matters. When each Power had obtained its share of the spoils from Turkey—Germany her railways, Austria and Italy the creation of Albania, France her loans and railway concessions in Northern Anatolia, England her Persian Gulf and Koweit—then Russia put forward her claim to protect poor misgoverned Armenia, and many Armenians, driven desperate by continued oppression and massacre, were only too willing to seek refuge from the known horrors of Turkish misrule in the possible security offered by Russian protection.

The scheme of moderate administrative reforms drawn up by the Powers and accepted by Turkey, after much temporizing, provides that the six vilayets inhabited by

Armenians, shall be divided into two districts, each to be under the control of an Inspector-General, the Powers having a voice in the election of these two Commissioners.

Vague and inefficient as is this measure of administrative reform, it would satisfy the Armenians if faithfully carried out. They, however, fear that nothing will be done, because European control is not adequately stipulated and guaranteed, and that the usual suicidal astuteness of the Turkish statesmen will enable them to evade even this shadowy control, and so nullify the whole scheme. The weak point lies in the fact that, although of European nationality, the Inspectors will enter the service of Turkey, and will receive instructions from Constantinople, while the Armenians were rightly anxious that they should be held responsible to the Powers, who would exercise direct control over them, through their Ambassadors, at the Sublime Porte.

The Chauvinist Press of Turkey has wrongfully accused the Armenians of Separatist aspirations, and of attempting to introduce foreign intervention by their demand for European control.

The Turks assert their intention to introduce reforms in Armenia, as in other Turkish provinces, independent of foreign control, and are astonished and hurt when the Armenians demand more than mere promises.

The Armenians deny that their claims for reform have any bearing upon Separatism, which they reject *in toto*. They insist only upon reforms that are absolutely vital, and honestly believe that these reforms will not be carried out by Turkey, however solemn her promises may be. Painful experience has now taught them that no promises are binding upon the Turkish Government unless they are backed by the Great Powers.

Furthermore, the Armenians maintain that, in demanding European control, they are more patriotic than the Turks who refuse it, since, lacking that control, no appreciable improvement can take place, as the Turks have neither



the men nor the means to that end at their disposal. Thus the country will remain in its present unsatisfactory condition, ripe any moment for Russian annexation—a repetition of the history of Macedonia, which could have been saved by the inauguration of timely reforms.

### III.

Just a word in conclusion to those friends of Turkey who desire the preservation of her integrity. There is no salvation for Turkey without reform. Will these reforms be really introduced without pressure from the Powers? Can they be efficiently carried out without European aid? Is not the carrying out of essential reforms, under adequate European control, the only way of avoiding *dangerous* foreign intervention? And will not a reformed and prosperous Turkey be the Turkey that will the soonest become free of the tutelage of Europe?

The Turk rarely learns from the facts of history. Force is the only power to which he bows, and he defers the evil day of reform to the very last. Many months after the establishment of the Constitution, Mr. Charles Woods, author of the "Danger Zone of Europe," asked an Artillery Commander if reforms had been introduced in the artillery, and whether range practices were now carried on. The answer was that the Turkish Artillery had been so good for fifteen years, that it was not necessary to carry out any reforms! And I recall the airy optimism of the Turkish statesman at Constantinople in the spring of 1910, when Dr. Platon Drakoulis, on a semi-official mission, urged the advantages of a Turco-Greek Alliance\* as the basis for a Balkan Federation, in view of the danger of a Balkan Alliance which left Turkey outside.

\* When a Turkish statesman shows wisdom it is often late in the day, and when he is out of power. Cherif Pasha writes (*Mecheroutiette*, March, 1914) that in his opinion an understanding ought to have been come to with Greece with regard to Crete before the beginning of external troubles. Where was he in 1910, when such an expression of opinion would have been priceless?

"Let them unite," was his reply. "We shall be more than a match for them all." And that same statesman last month assured me that he was perfectly satisfied with the policy of his party and its results. And he spoke the truth.

In face of such facts, is not Sir Edward Grey premature in assuming that—

"The present Turkish Government have realized how much they have lost in Europe by their bad government, and how essential it is that they should apply in their Asiatic provinces the lessons which have been learned from their reverses in Europe."

What evidence does he offer us that these lessons have been learned?

## THE SITUATION IN EPIRUS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ARGYROCASTRO,  
March 3, 1914.

YESTERDAY the Provisional Government constituted by the three Archbishops of Konitsa, Argyrocastro, and Korytsa, with Mr. Zografos as Chairman, declared here the independence of Northern Epirus. Previous to that Santa-Quaranta and Delvino had raised the flag of Epirus and surprised the Greek authorities, who remained helpless before the passive insubordination of the troops under their command.

I came to Argyrocastro Sunday morning, having heard in Janina from trustworthy sources that Mr. Zografos had arrived. Mr. Foiristi, the Governor-General of Epirus, preceded me there by an hour. The sights in the road were heartrending. Thousands of villagers crowded the trunk road, in vehicles of all sorts; beasts of burden, men, women, and children, were alike loaded with their chattels. They were moving from the towns and villages of the contested zone to the oasis situated within the Greek territory. This general *déménagement*, I have been told, has been going on for the past ten days. As a matter of fact, from the very moment it became known that the Greek Government had decided to evacuate the territory ascribed to Albania. The endeavours of the emissaries of the Government to prevent this emigration were of no avail. The public mistrust in the will of the Albanians, and

the power of the Albanian Government to respect and protect the life and property of the overwhelming Greek and Christian majority of the inhabitants, is too deeply rooted by life-long experience to be so easily allayed by the oral assurances of the Greek civil and military officers.

The arrival of Mr. Zografos had no effect on this wholesale emigration of women and children, for all men were anxious to place their families in safety in order to be more free in case of an invasion, either to fight or to burn their houses, and withdraw into Greek territory.

Mr. Foiristi's mission in Argyrocastro was to persuade Mr. Zografos to leave town willingly, as to use force was not easy of accomplishment without bloodshed. For, ever since the General Assembly, the permanent committee of the two Archbishops residing in Argyrocastro had given orders to all men able to carry arms to be ready for a *coup de main* at any time. Mr. Zografos's refusal to leave forced the hand of the Government, and General Papoulias arrived in great haste from Korytsa with formal orders to arrest the two Archbishops and order Mr. Zografos out of the district. It is to be surmised that on arrival in Argyrocastro he discovered that the execution of his orders was fraught with great dangers. The garrison of the town was passively opposed to obey orders to shoot their brethren, whom they had freed eleven months ago from the Turkish yoke. A new regiment was ordered there, but its arrival did not greatly improve matters. The spirit of the non-commissioned officers and men of the new regiment was no better. Not a man in the troops was disposed to go beyond a formal intimidation of the population, and no wonder, for it goes against their grain to surrender the country which by great sacrifices of blood they had conquered. The General, thus baffled, tried to entice the Archbishops to his headquarters and place them there and then under surveillance. The Archbishops appealed to their position as emissaries of the Ecumenical Patriarch, and refused to move a step from their sacred asylum of the metropolis. The defiance of the

Archbishops forced the General to negotiate, and by this means he obtained the concession to have the declaration of independence take place outside the town. Not trusting, however, to promises, he occupied all the outlets with troops, with orders to stop the incoming of the sacred battalions of the surrounding villages, who had been advised to assemble there. This precaution served only to delay matters for a few hours. For the assembled Epirotic troops, two thousand strong, after witnessing the official Declaration of Independence by the President of the Provisional Government, Mr. Zografos, and the blessing of the flag of the new autonomous state by the Bishops, formed a long procession, broke the cordon of the Greek troops, and would not fire at the people, who declared loudly that they preferred to be shot at by their brethren than be massacred by the Albanians, and made a demonstration before the Government House. Soldiers and petty officers showed their attitude to the movement by singly saluting the new flag, which consists of a white Greek cross in a blue field, with the Byzantine eagle spread in the middle. After speeches by Mr. Zografos and the Archbishops, the Epirotic troops withdrew to their villages, and the Epirotic flag now floats on the balcony of the Archbishops' mansion where the seat of the new autonomous Government has been installed.

Last night, the Archbishop of Konitsa, who seems to be the most active factor in the whole movement, left for Delvino and Santa-Quaranta, supposedly to establish the new autonomous authorities. All sorts of rumours fly through the town, but none can be verified. We hear that the surrender of the Korytsa was delayed and the hasty arrival of General Papoulias, who is in charge of the evacuation, seems to give a shadow of truth to the rumour. Another rumour is that Moschopolis was surrendered by the Greeks, but the inhabitants threatened the invading Albanian force with resistance, and that the Dutch officers declared that they did not intend to fire on the inhabitants.

The people at large, and to a great extent the rank and file of the army of occupation, are greatly worked up against the Greek Government, and Mr. Venizelos especially, for what they characterize as a betrayal of their interests. It is not unusual to hear the Greek premier treated as an ambitious politician who repeatedly and unscrupulously jeopardized the national interests for his own personal ambition when in Crete, while he hesitates now to sacrifice his love of office and power to the major interests of the Epirotes. Worse adjectives are also heard. There are, though, not a few who think that he is playing a deep game, and that his shrewdness is badly served on account of lack of proper men.

## THE AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF NAZIM PASHA'S DEATH

ABOUT the time of the death of the famous Turkish General, there used to be Cabinet meetings every day in Constantinople. Reshid Bey, the Minister of the Interior, had been in the habit of making lists of prominent Turks who, he said, should be proscribed. For want of a better name, they might be called Young Turks. The contents of these lists were disclosed to those interested, and they agreed that a deputation should be sent to call the attention of the Cabinet to this practice. On the afternoon of Thursday, January 23, two or three whose names were in this list, among them Enver Bey, went to the Sublime Porte, to have an interview with the Cabinet on this question. As they went in, they left outside a small gathering of those interested, who had attended them on their way. These stopped outside the entrance to the Sublime Porte, and some blocked up the doorway. A young officer on guard remonstrated with them, as they were blocking up the entrance, and told them to stand back, at the same time drawing his revolver. A former friend of his in this small crowd called out an opprobrious insult, upon which he shot him. Some of those outside drew their revolvers, and shot the young officer in turn. The guards, hearing the shots, rushed in from side passages, and, on seeing their officer on the ground, they promptly retaliated, and the sound of the firing penetrated into the Council Chamber. Nazim Pasha, being angry because firearms were used in the Sublime

Porte, rushed out to order everybody under arrest, and, crossing the inner hall, emerged into the line of fire through the outer door, and received one of the bullets. As soon as someone on the spot saw who had been shot, he called out that it was Nazim, and at once an awe of silence came over them, and they all gathered round, horror-stricken at the tragedy. His death was due to an accident, and it is not in conformity with the facts to state that he was murdered.

This account has been given us by an Englishman who was there at the time.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### ART IN RAJPUTANA, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO JAIPUR

BY COLONEL T. HOLBEIN HENDLEY, C.I.E.

GEOGRAPHY, physical conditions, history, and some account of the inhabitants of a country are so important in relation to art that it is essential that I should trouble you with a few brief observations on these questions in regard to Rajputana.

The province in North-West India which is known under the above name has an area of more than 132,000 square miles, or about 11,000 more than that of the United Kingdom. It is divided by the Aravalli range of mountains into two natural parts—viz., the north-west and south-east. According to the late Sir John Eliot, the distinguished meteorologist, the former is a sandy and ill-watered tract, improving gradually from a mere desert in the west and north-west to comparatively fertile lands towards the east and north-east in the neighbourhood of the Aravalli Hills and the tracts bordering on the Panjab. South-East is more elevated and fertile than North-West Rajputana, and has a very diversified character. It contains extensive hill ranges and stretches of woodland. It is traversed by several large rivers, and in many parts there are fertile tablelands and stretches of excellent soil. The land falls gradually from the eastern flanks of the Aravallis through a country of high hills and deepest valleys, much broken up by rocky eminences. In the south-east the

country is also much broken, and there are valleys covered with thick jungles. Rajputana is bounded by the Panjab, United Provinces, the Native States of Central India, and the Bombay Presidency, including Sind. Its position in recent times, so near the centre of the Imperial Court at Delhi or Agra on the one hand, and to several of the great Mahratta States on the other, has had important bearings on its history. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that in Ajmere, which is now the chief town of the British district in the heart of the country, we have the former capital of a Muhammadan Soubah or division of the empire at which its Sovereigns often resided.

The struggles for supremacy in North India greatly affected Rajputana. Different races, with different religious views, took part in those great events, and so made the history of India. I cannot go minutely into that history as it affects my area, but I think we shall see in our survey of art in Rajputana that religion has been the most potent influence of all, thus confirming the views on the subject enunciated; for example, so late as on January 6 last by Mr. Godfrey Blount in his address on "Design" read before the Art Teachers' Guild, in which he said that the art of design—and I conclude he meant all art of the kind—in order to be vital, must be religious. It is certainly, I believe, true of Rajputana.

From my present standpoint it seems unnecessary to say much of the Bhils or other aboriginal inhabitants of Rajputana, or even of the early invaders of the country from Central Asia. It may, however, be conceded that the Vedic Aryans, through the Brahmanical religion in all its stages of development, made the greatest impression on the arts, especially on those of architecture and sculpture, as well as on the art-workers in Rajputana as in other Indian provinces. It is probable, nevertheless, that Muhammadan influence has been very great from the time, even if not earlier, of Mahmud of Ghazni, who crossed Western Rajputana early in the eleventh century, down to the period at which the Mogul Sovereigns held sway, when, in art matters,

it became supreme, except, of course, in the purely religious sphere. Nearly 150 years after Mahmud, Rajputana was traversed by Mohamed of Ghor, and his raids had some effect on the fortunes of the country, because he conquered the confederacy of Hindu Kings, which was led, in 1192, by Prithi Raj, the Chohan Raja of Delhi and Ajmere, one of the results of which was the migration of the ancestors of the Rathore clan from Kanauj, on the Ganges, in what are now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to Jodhpore.

The Sultan Altamsh, who reigned at Delhi from 1211 to 1236, built the famous mosque at Ajmere, which is known as the Arhai-din-ka-Jhompra or "shed of two and a half days," out of the ruins of Jain temples, though the magnificent screen, which still stands in the courtyard of his building, is of Muhammadan design. Here, then, we have a new and potent factor introduced into the architecture of Rajputana. Possibly Ala-u-din Khilji, who besieged Ranthambhor—a strong fort which is now in the Jaipur State, and Chitor, the hill capital of Meywar in 1303,—may have left some effect on the arts, but most of it was certainly destructive. It was not until the days of Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls, however, that Muhammadan influence on the arts of peace was really effective in our area. What, then, was the condition prior to the latter period, that is, before the sixteenth century? The best way to study the question with advantage is, perhaps, to consider first the arts of architecture and sculpture; and here, I think, all must agree with Mr. Vincent Smith when he quotes Dr. Buhler's statement that "Indian art was not sectarian, but that all religions—Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical—used the art of their age and country, and all drew on a common storehouse of symbolic and conventional devices." This is not difficult to understand, because the two former cults arose out of the last named. The two latter are freely represented in Rajputana, and relics of the sculpture of all of them are exhibited near our border close to the sites on which they were found at the Museum of Mathura, with

many objects which show still another influence—viz., that of the Greeks.

In Rajputana itself I do not know of any Buddhist relics of importance except the edicts of Asoka, which are cut on rocks near Bairat, on the Jaipur-Ulwar border, though I found near the Sambhur Lake, in some excavations which were made at the cost of the Jaipur Durbar, 20 feet below the surface, a number of small objects which showed that the place had once been the home of Buddhists. Amongst them were a steatite box and some seals, with a clay block on which there was a very well-modelled figure in high relief of a tiger, that was clearly the work of a man possessed of some artistic skill. At Naraina, an old town close by, which is said to have been Buddhist, carved stones and statues have been found, but these appear to date from Chohan Chiefs of the tenth century. The Jains, however, have left many remarkable monuments, and, as their influence was most prominent for a long period, I propose to enumerate a few of them. Many are described and illustrated by Mr. Vincent Smith in his beautiful work on the "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon." You will find full details in that valuable book. He does not include any statues in the district as examples of fine art, and perhaps even the wonderful decorative ornament which has been lavished on such temples as those of Vimala Sah (A.D. 1031) and Tejpal (A.D. 1230), at Mount Abu, cannot be so described, though few who have seen the rich pendant and the marvellous pillars and ceilings in those buildings can leave the hill without feeling the deepest admiration for the men who designed and carved them, and for their munificent employers, who were Jain merchants of the neighbouring city of Chandravati, which was the capital at the time of a dynasty of Pramāra Rajputs. It is regrettable that many sculptured stones from that site were used in the construction of Jain and other buildings in the city of Ahmedabad, and, what is far worse, not a few beautiful fragments have been inserted into the masonry of rail-

way bridges and embankments near the base of Mount Abu.

The tower of Sri Allat, or of Rana Alluji, at Chitor, which is believed to have been erected about 896, or as late as 951, is one of the most interesting, as it is the oldest of the Jain monuments in the country.

If its ornament is compared with that of the adjacent but more modern temple close by, it will be seen how little change there has been for many years, though the one was built for Jains and the other for orthodox Hindus. The secret is that at that early time, and even to-day there are traces of it, much toleration existed between the members of the two faiths, though the dominant one occasionally exerted its power by installing its own images in the position of honour, thereby forcibly converting the building to its own use. There was in later days such a case at Amber, the old capital of the Jaipur State, and another in Malwa. The ruling family of Meywar, or Udaipur, which came from Gujerat, was very Jain in sympathy, if not in faith, in early times, and the richest Jains of Marwar or Jodhpore are said to have been perverts from a Rahtore clan. These facts strongly support the views of Dr. Buhler, to which reference has been made. There has been a gradual development or change in the architecture of their religious buildings, but the decorative work has the same general effect, and errs on the side of extreme elaboration of detail with persistent features, which will be found, unless modified by Muhammadan influence, are repeated in all forms of industrial art in every kind of material. If we wish for earlier existing Jain and Brahmanical monuments, we must cross the southern border into Gujerat, whence both the Pramāra (Puar) rulers and the Meywar Chiefs came, and which even now exerts an influence, because many pilgrims come from its rich mercantile towns to visit holy shrines of both faiths in Rajputana. It has always been the policy of the Rajput Princes to encourage such pilgrimages and the residence in their States of wealthy traders. This has been very marked

through the whole period of their history, and is specially true in the sandy desert or western area beyond the Aravalli Mountains—that is to say, in Marwar or Jodhpore, and in Bikanir and Western Jaipur, in or near the somewhat inaccessible desert cities, where many rich mercantile families of Baneahs or orthodox Vaishyas (followers of Vishnu), and of Jains, of both the Digambara, the Stricter and Svetambra, or more lax sects, reside, carrying on their business of banking, which includes an active interest, as money-lenders, in every mercantile and artisan home in the fertile plains of North India. This work was done through members of the family or their agents, while their wives and children and the heads of firms lived, many of them in splendid houses, in Rajputana, in which also was stored much of their wealth and treasure.

Of course, they were heavily taxed by the Chiefs, but the obligation and advantage to both parties were great. The chief towns in which the bankers reside are Pokaran and Nagore in Marwar, and Sikar, Ramgarh, Nawalgarh, Fatehgarh, and other places in North Jaipur; besides which there are the capitals of those two States and Bikanir and Jaisalmer. Many of these places contain mansions, the exteriors of which are beautifully carved, and much of the money for erecting and ornamenting splendid temples, and even indirectly the palaces of the Chiefs, came from the same source.

The northern towns were conveniently situated for the cities of Hindustan and Sind, and the southern ones in Meywar and South Jodhpore, for those in Gujerat, so that Rajputana owes much of its art and its wealth to its situation and its physical conditions. Architecture and art of all kinds in Rajputana have, indeed, two great classes to thank for their existence and development. In the first place the wealthy merchants, and in the second the Chiefs and nobles, and in both cases, in my opinion, for similar reasons. It was religion chiefly, and especially the caste system, which urged the merchant, who was encouraged not a little by

his female relations, to spend his money, because, except on such occasions as marriages and deaths, he had little need or desire for expenditure on himself or on his family, and if he showed an inclination to an unusual amount of outward display it was promptly suppressed. The best means, therefore, of getting rid of his superfluous wealth was to devote it to the building of temples and houses, and not to the collection of curios or even to the manufacture of small articles of luxury or of furniture for his home. There were several exceptions, however, the chief being expenditure on jewellery and dress, and a little wood-carving for the enrichment of doors and windows. Religion was also the most powerful influence in the case of the art-worker. It was different, however, with the Chiefs, who had some inclination in the direction of luxury and art, when they had leisure from the necessity of fighting.

Their history points to one of such motives. The history of every Rajput family is much the same, as with a certain number of followers the founders started out to make for themselves homes beyond their own districts. This could only be done by conquests which had to be defended. Every Chief sought for a defensible position, and until the introduction of modern artillery this was most suitably discovered in East and South Rajputana, where there were sites on the hills for forts, which commanded well-watered valleys. In the north and west similar positions were only to be found on rocks which jutted out from the sandy wastes below. We therefore usually find a castle above for the Chief, and homes for his followers and retainers, his tradesmen, and the general population in a walled town below the battlements. This is true of all the great States, and even of the small towns and villages of the nobles and, not infrequently, there is a smaller and stronger fortress in some inaccessible situation into which the Chief can retire in times of difficulty with his family.

In unsettled and early days the Princes could not accumulate treasures or curios, but several circumstances tended

to force or help them, perhaps involuntarily, to patronize some of the minor arts. It was the custom for their subjects or retainers to propitiate their lords by offering them presents of objects of interest or value on stated occasions, and the nobles and courtiers, when they attended the durbars or courts of the greater Chiefs, were compelled to present fixed sums of money, which were termed Nazrāna, or gifts, and in return they received from their superiors presents of various kinds, which usually took the form of jewellery and a dress of honour, with rich stuffs, arms, and even a gaily caparisoned elephant or horse, etc. In the first class the artisans rivalled each other in presenting the most perfect and the newest specimens of their skill, and the traveller brought something rare from foreign parts; and in the second the Chief ordered the artists and artisans to design and make something worth presenting to his tribal supporters, amongst whom he was *primus inter pares*.

Valuable specimens of art-work also came into possession of the Chief by conquest and marriages, by presentation from neighbouring courts, or, as already stated, by gifts from individuals of all classes who sought his good-will or promotion of any kind, because in the East it has always been the custom to propitiate the great, and to approach them with an offering of some kind.

I do not think, however, that the Chiefs and nobles before the days of the Emperor Akbar, notwithstanding the circumstances to which I have referred, had any great love for art, because the times were not propitious.

There was for a long period no real paramount Sovereign in India at whose court chiefs and nobles could meet each other, or at which there were men of culture, except perhaps a Brahmin or two who were pundits or learned men, and a Kavi-raj (poet-laureate), who sang the praises of the clan and the liege lord, and a Charan (historian or bard), who recited past deeds of valour and the names of the ancestors of the different families. Whenever any monarch arose whose supremacy was widely acknowledged, the arts flourished.



Among such examples were the Pāla, Chohān, and Gahilot Chiefs of early medieval Rajputana under whom the great temples were constructed. Artists, again, were not even possessed of general education. Artisans were quite unlettered, and only learned their craft by apprenticeship to their fathers or fellow-craftsmen.

The only ornament the Rajput valued was that which was applied to his weapons or to the jewellery which was worn by himself, his sons, and the ladies of his family, or which was required for the trappings of his animals.

As far as their homes went I have often thought the Rajput Chiefs of note were in a similar position to that of the Princes or the *condottieri* of North Italy.

It was not until the example was set at Delhi, whither all the nobles went sooner or later, that there was any powerful stimulus to induce a love of art or to promote rivalry in the acquisition of beautiful things. Henceforward the way was opened, and libraries, armouries, and storehouses of curios began to be formed, although the wars and vicissitudes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to great losses and to the disposal of treasures of all kinds. There is not wanting evidence, however, that some of the valuable possessions of the Delhi Court and of its great nobles found their way into Rajput palaces as well as into those of the Mahratta and Muhammadan Princes, and perhaps more recently into museums and collections, both public and private, in Europe. The Razmnamah or Persian abridgment of the great Indian epics—viz., the Mahabharata and the Ramayana—which Sheikh Faizī, the Emperor Akbar's poet, compiled, with the truly great idea of promoting by increased knowledge a better feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans, is an illustration of both points. Of the first because the Emperor advised his principal Chiefs and nobles to order illuminated copies of this great work, and of the second because the Emperor's own copy, with the seals of the Imperial librarians for many generations on its last page, was acquired, it is believed, by gift or

purchase in the dark days of Mahratta oppression at Delhi, when the great Mogul of the day fell into extreme poverty. After the decease of Akbar and the Princes of his time, there were not a few of the great Hindu rulers who are known to have been men of culture, and all of whom were desirous of acquiring objects of artistic interest and value. Amongst them may be mentioned the following: Sawai Jai Singh II., the founder of the modern capital of Dhundhar or Jaipur (1700-1744); Madho Singh I. (1751-1768); Ram Singh II. (1835-1880)—all three of Jaipur; Banai Singh of Alwar (1815-1857), though he was illiterate; Jaswant Singh I. (1635-1678) of Jodhpore; and the following Maharanas of Udaipur: Rai Singh (1661-1681) and Jai Singh (1681-1700). Two famous structures at Chitor were of older date and were also the work of great men. These were the temple of Mokalji, which was originally built in the eleventh century, and the tower of victory or fame, the Jaya or Kirat Stambha of Rana Khumbhu, who reigned from 1418 to 1461. The former is enriched with an extraordinary amount of sculpture, and, in the opinion of Mr. Vincent Smith, may be taken as a fine example of Hindu work, which is characteristic of the mediæval period, as are also a group of temples in South Jodhpore and another in the adjacent State of Sirohi, all of which date from the seventh or eighth century A.D. The famous temples of the Chandel dynasty at Khajarahao in the Chhatarpur State in Malwa are, however, the most important of that period in Upper India. Later sculpture is of less interest than that of the earlier shrines. Tourists, who cannot ascend Mount Abu, may see a very interesting Jain temple of the same class at Sanganir, a short drive from Jaipur City. They should also examine the fine orthodox temples of Jagat Sarwan at Amber and of Jaganath at Udaipur, both of which are covered with sculpture and serve, with similar shrines, as models for modern sculptors in various parts of the province. Most of the temple-work, however, points to decay.

The greater and finer tower of victory, or Jaya Stambha at Chitor, which is 120 feet high and was erected in the fifteenth century, was no doubt derived, as to form, from the older one, that was built by the Jains in the ninth century. It is covered inside and out with, as Mr. Vincent Smith remarks, an "illustrated dictionary of Hindu mythology." It is certainly one of the most marvellous structures of the kind that I have ever seen, and perhaps here I may be permitted to recall my first visit, in 1874, to Chitor, and to the tower and the remarkable places of interest in its vicinity. From the summit we looked down, not only upon the ruined palaces and numerous shrines of what had formerly been the capital of Meywar, but also upon the plain below and the sloping paths on the hillside, where once took place a fierce struggle for supremacy between the Mogul forces, under the great Emperor Akbar himself, and the Rana of Udaipur and his brave Rajputs. The representative and descendant of one of the two bravest and most renowned nobles was with us. His ancestor fell at his post, shot by the Emperor himself, and was ever afterwards referred to by him as a brave foe, whose statue he put up outside his own palace gate. We talked of the siege and of the romantic deeds which accompanied it, and how, when all hope of success had died away, the Rajput ladies, headed by the Queen, retired into caverns below, and were burned or suffocated in fires which were lighted in those gloomy halls, whilst the men put on saffron robes, and met their deaths in the ranks of the enemy. The caverns have been closed since that day, and are sacred to the memory of those who perished. A few paces from the foot of the tower, close to a sacred tank in a cleft in the hill, the entrance was shown to us. In stirring times such as these no wonder art could not be encouraged.

All the magnificent buildings, and many others like them, in Rajputana, are examples to living art-workers in stone, wood, and metal, and point, not only to the devotion of many of its inhabitants to their religion, but to their willing-

ness to spend their money upon it when the times are fortunate and wealth can be accumulated.

Several matters of some importance arise out of this branch of my subject, and first is the fact that the existence of many beautiful building-stones in the province has led to its fame in architecture being widely spread. The white marbles of Jhiri, on the Jaipur - Ulwar border, and of Makrana, near the Marwar edge of the Sambhur Lake, were used at the Taj Mahl in Agra, and in many of the other noble Musalman buildings in North India. Black, green, and red marble have been utilized in recent times, especially in church work, and for making images and small objects, which, however, can hardly be described as artistic. Certain places, particularly Dausa, about forty miles east of Jaipur, and Jaipur itself, supply most of Brahmanical India with marble (stone being the most orthodox material) representations of the gods of the usual conventional types. Ready-shaped marble slabs are also cut in the quarries, to be sent to a distance for decoration of buildings. Much of the tracery is highly artistic, as, for example, that of the well-known mosque of Sidi Sayyid, at Ahmedabad, beyond our border, which dates from about A.D. 1500. The windows in which it is seen are made of Gujerat sandstone. Red sandstone is employed in similar fashion in Rajputana, and it is also used in many other beautiful ways in such places as Jodhpore, Bikanir, and Jaipur, where whole house-fronts are elaborately carved from top to bottom.

At Jaisalmer several very charming varieties of differently coloured nummulitic limestone are used, and thin slabs of them were and are carried on the backs of camels to even such distant places as Kashmir, as well as to the great Muhammadan cities in Hindustan, in order to decorate the marble halls of the Moguls. I need not dwell any longer on decorative work as applied to buildings in the Muhammadan style, or to the buildings in the province itself, which fashion and influence led the Chiefs to construct after the Moguls became supreme. The most noteworthy

are perhaps those in the Dargah at Ajmere, in which several shrines in white marble were erected by the Emperors, and a few open halls, the remains of palaces, on the embankment of the Ana Sagar Lake. Besides these, there are remarkable palaces at Dig in the Bharatpar State, others at Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, and the famous water-palaces in the Peshola Lake at Udaipur. Perhaps the most interesting from our standpoint to-day are the different halls at Amber, because of the great variety of the forms of decoration with which they are enriched. Amongst these the most important are, I think, the marble dados in the style of the Taj Mahl, in which the usual bouquets of flowers are associated with butterflies and other insects in relief, thus giving life to the designs, which is undoubtedly an improvement on the work in Musalman buildings.

Connected with work in stone are many minor arts that are employed in the decoration of buildings in Rajputana.

Most, if not all, of them were foreign in origin, in some cases even being traceable to places outside India ; but the local artisans were, and are, as capable of using them as men who live beyond the frontiers of Rajputana.

Nearly all these minor arts have been practised in the Jaipur as well as in the Amber palaces, the former of which date from 1732 down to our own day, because it must be remembered that an Oriental palace which is in use is rarely finished lest misfortune happen. The latter were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The most common decoration is mirror work, in which the patterns are formed in glass, or, in the older examples, in mica, in the form of shells set in the plaster. Some of the finest specimens have cypress-trees as the chief ornament. At Udaipur there are figures of men, and a few magnificent peacocks with expanded tails which are set up against the back wall of a court.

In one of the stones of the great Chandra Mahl, or Moon Palace, at Jaipur, the Chhabi Newas, or Hall of Radiance, the shells were made of copper, which was covered

with foil of different colours, in front of each of which were set flat pieces of glass. Much of this ornament was enriched with a gilt framework in relief.

I described this mirror-work and many other varieties of decoration in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1888, and will therefore refer only briefly to-day to the principal methods.

From stone we proceed to plaster, in which there are several styles. There is first that in which the ornament is raised on plaques which have been fastened to the walls, and these are sometimes covered with a thin layer of mica, which affords a satiny lustre and has a very cooling effect.

A second style is more elaborate as the plaster is cut and moulded into flowers, which are placed between thin sheets of mica or coloured glass, or patterns are cut out in plates of plaster or even of copper, behind which pieces of brightly coloured glass are fastened so as to give the effect of painted-glass windows through which the light shines. Some of the designs are most interesting and very archaic. At Amber, in several places, roundels of glass were used, which were said to have been brought by the overland route in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries from Venice.

In a few instances the raised flowers were gilded and coloured, and were then attached to the walls. There is very little sameness about the designs. The ceilings both of plaster and mirror work usually have stalactitic cornices and large mirrors, and in some cases portraits are set in the midst of the walls. The floors are generally of white Jhiri or Makrana marble with patterns, which are also used in the dados, in black marble from Baislana, or in red marble from Baldeogarh, or in nummulitic limestone from Jaisalmer, all of which places are in Rajputana. In the walls niches are sometimes formed, which originally were used for the reception of vessels of the same shape. These niches are now merely ornamental survivals. All the work I have described is in the Arabian or Persian manner, and the earliest examples in Rajputana date from the sixteenth century.

It is not only in stone and plaster that decorative work is done. Tiles in blue or green monochrome are used. In the Chhabi Newas at Jaipur, before mentioned, there was formerly a fine dado, in which the flowers in the centre of each blue tile were raised. In one of the balconies dark green tiles may still be seen, in which scenes from the life of Krishna are represented. A remarkable reminiscence of the influence of the Dutch and of their factory at Surat exists in rooms in the great palace at Udaipur, and in the smaller one at Dungarpur. These tiles and many of the well-known English willow-pattern plates are set in large numbers in the walls. Still more curious is a large hall in the Bikanir Palace, in which such plates and the perforated fish-strainers from a large number of dinner services are inserted all over the walls.

In the former case, some at least of the decorative work was being done when I first visited Udaipur about forty-three years ago—long after the materials were procured. This is also proved by the fact that the tiles belong to different centuries. There has been nothing too singular for use in such places, but there is always the wish to excite curiosity and feelings of wonder. Moreover, in the older examples there was a kind of artistic sense, which certainly prevented the general effect from being displeasing, and, unlike much which has been done in later times, the results are rarely vulgar.

The wall paintings such as those in the apartments reserved in former days for women at Jaipur, in which the sports of children are charmingly delineated, are far more pleasing, so also are the carved and inlaid wood and lacquered work. Wood unfortunately is not very suitable for use in Indian buildings because it is so liable to injury from the weather and insects. It is therefore generally confined to door and window frames. There are the remains of many Shisham (*Dalbergia Sissu*) wood doors, which are carved into beautiful arabesque patterns, in the old Rawala or female apartments at Amber. In the Mardāna or rooms

of the Maharajas there are other doors inlaid with pieces of white and coloured ivory after the fashion of the Bombay or Surat marquetry.

There is much that is noteworthy about wood-carving in Rajputana. There, as elsewhere, artisans, after the manner of the craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Europe, could work indifferently in any material, and were capable of using any substance for ornamental purposes.

The stonemason, when he is not wanted to carve tracery in marble, is equally at home in fashioning huge wooden window frames, doors, and balconies, which he enriches with artistically headed massive nails and bands of brass or iron and even with gaily coloured lacquered drops, for the rich merchants' houses in the Northern Rajputana and Panjab towns not far from them or in the desert cities of which I have spoken. This is true everywhere, but especially of the men who live in the regions to which I have just referred.

In the Panjab the woodwork takes the form of Pinjara or tracery and is not unlike the Masharabiyahs of the Egyptians. The best Rajputana illustration of this dexterity which occurs to me is that of a number of fine, sturdy men who lived in Shekhawati or North Jaipur, where I met some of them a year before the opening of the Indo-Colonial Exhibition of 1886. I proposed that the Jaipur courts of the Rajputana section of the exhibition should be constructed of carved wood, and, with the approval of the Jaipur Government, the men were set to work to cut in Shisham wood every design with which they were acquainted; the results may be seen to-day in the Imperial Institute. These men also did much of the stone-carving at the Albert Hall, or museum building at Jaipur, and one of them, whom I often saw in his home at Chirawa in Shekhawati, on one occasion was employed in making hookas for smoking tobacco, in zinc, which he was ornamenting with engraved brass bands. This universality of talent is quite medieval and it gives the craftsman a joy in his work of which many a European artisan is quite incapable of realizing under



modern conditions. It is really delightful to talk to such artists whose hearts are in their work—much of which, however, would not be suitable for display in a museum which is arranged on the basis of materials, because its real value depends upon its representations of the thoughts and aims of true men who know how to think and use everything which will beautify their work.

The connection between stone and wood in India was very close in ancient times. Mr. Vincent Smith observes that "all authors who treat of Indian architecture notice, and are embarrassed by the fact, that each style, when it first comes to our knowledge, is full grown and complete. The earliest specimens betray no signs of tentative effort, and in no cases is it possible to trace the progressive evolution of a given style from rude beginnings." He remarks that the extensive destruction of ancient monuments, especially those built of brick, no doubt supplies a partial, though not adequate, explanation; but he himself considers that the real cause is that all the styles are derived from prototypes constructed in timber, bamboos, and other perishable materials. I understand, moreover, that M. E. Senart, the distinguished French writer, discovered remains of early wooden buildings in North India, which go far to prove this theory, and we know that beyond India, as for instance at Persepolis, there were such wooden forms.

It is strange that very little use has been made in Rajputana of tiles for decorating the exteriors of buildings. Perhaps the facility with which coloured stones are found is the reason. There are instances of the use of coloured tiles on several roofs in the old Amber Zenana and in the minarets of a mosque at Nagore, in North Marwar, a town famous as the birthplace of Abul Fazl, the celebrated Minister of the Emperor Akbar. I also found traces of blue enamelled pottery in the old Sambhar ruins, showing the art was known in Buddhist times.

My next subject is pottery, of which the best known is that which is made at the School of Industrial Art in Jaipur.

It is like most of the other minor art-work of foreign introduction, having been first made by imported workmen from Delhi ; but it is rather finer and is quite suitable for manufacture at Jaipur, because Kaolin or potter's clay is found in the adjacent hills. It differs but little from the semi-translucent pottery which the old Egyptians used for their Ushabtiu figurines. The proper ware is in blue and white, but greens and other colours have recently been introduced, though not, I think, with much advantage. It is ornamental, but not of practical use, as it is porous. There are some good modellers in clay in Jaipur, whose heads of men of different caste and occupations have attracted notice at recent exhibitions, as also smaller models of artisans at work. There are good workmen in metal throughout the province, who are capable of making such objects as pillars for canopies, maces, ornaments for thrones, the metal portions of trappings for animals, and the like ; but amongst Hindus, whose eating and drinking vessels require purification by fire or much scouring if of metal, or complete destruction after use if of baser material, there is no scope for the manufacture of works of art for the table, which is the great incentive in Europe for rivalry in design and beauty amongst silver and gold smiths. Some of the work of these artisans in India is bold and effective, and many different modes of enriching it are known and practised with good results ; but the designs are rarely new, and are very similar to those employed for stone and wood work.

The skill of the artisan is most frequently applied to making religious images and to the decoration of arms. It has been observed that the art displayed in fashioning Buddhist images was far higher than that which was shown by the makers of similar objects for the Jains and the orthodox Hindus. Possibly because the latter were crippled by the conventional and unnatural forms of the idols. A few temple lamps, with human figures, are of some merit. The *cire perdue* process has long been practised, even in

such small places as at Siwai Madhopur, in South Jaipur, where it is employed in the most ingenious way in casting elaborate bracelets in pairs. The skill of the metal-worker is perhaps best shown in the decoration of arms and in jewellery. This is not surprising, because, even in the most strenuous times, these articles were portable, and were most valued by the powerful and wealthy. The Rajput was proud of his weapons, and he and the ladies of his family wore and treasured all kinds of ornaments. The rich merchant also had need of jewellery. The former has a lien upon the first services of the craftsman in his capital or upon his estate; but the latter, by virtue of his wealth, and the fact that the artisan usually owes him money, which has been advanced to carry on his trade, has almost a monopoly of his time, though it is subject to the lord's requirements. In addition to this, the needs of the larger courts and of the richer patrons are sufficiently great to enable them to keep one or more men continually at work, in the former case, in each of what are termed the Chhatis Kār-khana, or thirty-six workshops of the State.

The sword or dagger maker and the damascener, for example, were, until quite recently, rarely unemployed. In my book on this subject I reproduced a large number of pictures of beautiful weapons from the Jaipur armoury, all of which were splendidly inlaid with ornament in gold wire, or in the true damascening, termed "tah-i-nishán." I believe this is a very old and probably pre-Muhammadan industry in Rajputana. Some of the sword hilts, mounts and dagger-handles are remarkable examples of minute and most artistic decoration, and the variety of patterns is enormous, and some of them show foreign—as, for instance, Chinese—influence. Some of my slides prove the accuracy of these statements. The armourer is not, however, confined to damascening. He has perfect knowledge of niello, plating, inlaying, incrustation with gems in lacquer or scales, chasing, engraving, and enamelling. He can combine all these methods with carved work in ivory, bone, or jade. In

short, in the ornamentation of arms of all kinds, the ingenuity and skill of the Indian decorative artist and workman cannot be surpassed anywhere, and I think the men who can do such work are fully entitled to be classed as true artists, certainly after the manner of Benvenuto Cellini and the master-craftsmen of his time. I believe, moreover, that if custom had required that their skill was needed for the production of cups and salvers, or such articles as the medieval art-worker produced, they would have been equally efficient. Unfortunately their powers have been always frittered away on minute objects, and have recently been diverted for the manufacture of bric-à-brac for the tourist.

I should like, however, to bear testimony to the pleasure I have felt in conversing with many of these men, whose genuine interest in their work, and knowledge of every branch of it, whose general intelligence and modesty, and, within certain limits, refinement, are really remarkable.

The art of enamelling on gold is one for which Jaipur is famous, especially for the brilliancy of its reds, which, when first known in Europe, attracted much attention. This art was introduced into, and has since been practised by, a family of Sikhs from Lahore.

Another illustration of this peculiar migration of art-work is the quasi-enamel which is made at Partabgarh and Rutlam, in and near the south of Rajputana respectively. It consists of plaques, in the former place of green, in the latter of blue, glass, on which sporting scenes are drawn in quaint figures of fine gold. The secret of manufacture is preserved in one or two families in each place, and is an illustration of what has been noted in other instances of the discovery by a talented craftsman of a new process, which he practises with profit, and passes on to a son or near relative, in whose hands it usually decays, and after a generation or two it perishes.

Similar illustrations occur at Ulwar in the case of book-binding, and in a process by which a piece of gauze can be

died in different colours on its two sides. This is true of many small minor arts throughout the East. In Rajputana we find the following additional examples : Inlaying powder-flasks with ivory and mother-of-pearl on buffalo horn at Etawah, in the Kotah State ; a peculiar kind of pottery at Indurgarh, in the same neighbourhood ; and interesting playing-cards at Siwai-Madhopur, in Jaipur.

A more widely spread industry in the province is that of lacquer-work of several kinds. That of North Jaipur and of Bikanir is most noteworthy. The former is painted or incised, the latter is raised, and in some instances also painted. The palace at Bikanir has several rooms decorated in lacquer in a most effective manner.

Jewellery throughout Rajputana is an important subject, and much of it is of ancient type and very bold in design. I devoted the greater portion of Nos. 96 and 97 of the *Journal of Indian Art* to jewellery in Rajputana alone. The following is a summary of my observations :

1. The preservation of many old designs, which correspond with those in ancient temples and sculptures, and, secondly, with ornaments in base metal which are worn by the poor, and especially by the women of wandering tribes, like the Birinjaris or grain-carriers, as it is known that because their ornaments were of no intrinsic value they were rarely broken up in order to be remade in the newest fashion, or to meet the pecuniary necessities of their owners, as is so often the case with gold and silver articles.

2. The common use of the *cire perdue* process.

3. The archaic forms of some of the jewellery in Marwar and in the more remote States, and the persistence in those regions of bracelets and armlets of bone or ivory, with or without bands of gold let into them.

4. The use of jewelled or golden anklets as marks of high rank or birth.

5. The importation by the bankers, who have business connections with all parts of India, and even with such remote places as Zanzibar and Hong-Kong, of ornaments

from distant places, thus bringing new ideas from many sources.

6. The acquisition by the bankers and traders of many valuable specimens at the time of famine or pestilence, and the retention by them of the most rare ones as curiosities. Too much, however, must not be made of this point, or of the preservation in temple treasuries of gifts of jewellery, which are common enough, because these objects are broken up to be remade for the images, or in both cases for their intrinsic value.

7. The designs of one place pass to another with brides and their attendants when they marry into families in distant States. This is most common among the Rajputs.

8. The use of steatite or brass moulds in the manufacture of ornaments such as were employed in ancient times, even in Assyria and Egypt.

The most striking examples of jewellery in Rajputana which I illustrated were the ivory ornaments I found on the old Sambhur site, facsimiles of which are still used in Marwar, necklaces of plaques set with large stones, or scales of diamonds with richly enamelled work.

2. Solid gold, silver, or base metal bangles of the forms common in the Bronze Age.

3. Torques of gold or enamel, with pendants of thick plaques worn by the rich mercantile women in Western Rajputana.

4. Boldly carved or perforated beads of gold or silver strung on silk cords, and used on the neck or limbs.

5. Very elaborate anklets and bracelets with bells or floral drops.

6. Massive cylinders of metal for the limbs, and similar cylinders of lac which are worn by married women, some of which were set with small gems.

7. The profusion of beads and drops often found on some of the old sites of towns in Rajputana.

The immense weight of ornaments worn by women of

all classes, and the love of jewellery shown by the men, are remarkable.

To sum up, I think jewellery alone proves that the people of Rajputana have always had much love of the beautiful, and that a great deal of ingenuity and artistic skill have been shown from the earliest times in meeting their wants. This is true of all classes, because even the poorest wear ornaments of base metal or of lac, or of beads threaded in complicated patterns.

I am sorry that time will not permit me to consider at length the subject of trappings for animals and leather work, the adornment of vehicles, and, above all, the great department of dress and of fabrics of all kinds. I can only say that much taste is displayed in Rajputana in these matters, and that throughout the province there is a love of bright colours which makes a Rajputana city on festival days a perfect Kaleidoscope, in which, until the introduction of the crude and often fugitive aniline dyes, there seemed to be complete harmony of colours, which was rarely disturbed by a false note. I regret, too, that I cannot deal with paintings and illuminated manuscripts and books, of which there are many in the libraries of the Princes and nobles.

In conclusion I would sum up my views in the following brief sentences :

1. The art of Rajputana is, almost without exception, of foreign origin, and is the result of its geographical situation and political history, aided by the wisdom of its rulers, who encouraged the settlement amongst them of rich merchants and bankers, through whom ideas of art were brought into the country, as well as much wealth, which enabled those ideas to be carried into effect.

2. That the more important developments were of a religious character, and were expressed in the erection of richly decorated temples in the styles of neighbouring countries, and were probably the work of craftsmen who were imported for the purpose.

3. That, with the exception of sculpture and ornament in stone, most of the minor arts have been introduced in recent times, and have chiefly been derived from the Muhammadan courts and cities, and that this is due to the fact that it was not until the time of the Moguls that there had been for many centuries a powerful central authority which could give opportunities for the Chiefs and nobles of Rajputana to meet together, and to be influenced by the civilization of their neighbours, or indeed to pay much attention to the arts of peace or to the acquisition or encouragement to make beautiful objects of any kind, the only exceptions being weapons, jewellery, and perhaps dress. Similar conditions are producing somewhat similar results, but more rapidly, chiefly from facility of communication, under British supremacy.

4. That the craftsmen who have been employed are a highly interesting body of men, who under conditions not unlike those which prevailed in medieval Europe could think for themselves, and work in any material with great technical skill ; and, finally, that the growth and development of art in the romantic tract which we have been considering, although we cannot discover any traces of the existence of what is called Fine Art, with the exception, perhaps, in architecture, are well worth our study, and our sincere admiration.



## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W., on Monday, February 23, 1914, a lantern lecture was delivered on "Art in Rajputana, with Special Relation to Jaipur," by Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, C.I.E. Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frederick Russell Hogg, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B., Professor T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., Mrs. Hendley, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Furnell, Mr. W. Coldstream, Captain and Mrs. F. Southwell Piper, Miss M. Pollen, Mr. John and Mrs. Oates, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Cook, Miss Wall, Mr. N. M. M. Bhownagree, Mr. A. Stewart Buckle, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. E. E. Sawyer, Mr. Md. Yamin Khan, Mrs. Young, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Hartley, Miss Bashford, Miss Sainsbury, Miss Salisbury, Miss Ross Johnson, Colonel and Mrs. A. F. Laughton, Miss Laughton, Mrs. Heath, Mrs. and Miss Bean, Miss Wade, Mrs. Newman, Miss Pinkett, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. N. C. Sen, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. W. H. Dawson, Mrs. Flora Sassoon, Mrs. Mackenzie, Miss Lethbridge, Miss Mason, Colonel H. D. Love, Mr. James F. Croasdel, Mrs. Marratt, Colonel Wingate, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. W. Mansukhain, Miss Paterson, Mrs. Hartley, Mr. C. M. Hall, Colonel Frank Sheffield, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Dr. Chambers, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the lecturer of this afternoon. He is a stranger to the East India Association, and therefore I beg leave to make a few introductory remarks in regard to him. He has had a long and distinguished career in the Indian Medical Service; he has held numerous appointments, culminating in the Inspector-Generalship of Civil Hospitals in Bengal, where I had the pleasure of meeting him; he has contributed many learned medical works to the literature of his profession, but I will not dwell on those things to-night, because it is not as a medical authority he presents himself before you to-day, but as an authority on Indian Art in Rajputana, with special relation to Jaipur. The connection of Colonel Holbein Hendley with Indian art arose in this way: For twenty-four

years he was Resident Surgeon in Jaipur, which is one of the principal cities of Rajputana. Rajputana is a province in the North-West of the great continent of India, which purports to be the land of the Rajputs, the great warrior caste of India. Rajputana is a very extensive country, somewhat larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—that is to say, as the United Kingdom is at present constituted. (Laughter.) Colonel Hendley was appointed by the Maharajah of Jaipur to be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee for the management of the museum. The Maharajah was a very enlightened and very generous ruler, and shortly after his accession he established a museum for the purpose of educating and instructing his subjects, and the Colonel occupied this post for about eighteen years. The Maharajah gave Colonel Hendley a free hand both in collecting exhibits for the museum and in managing it. It is true there was a Committee appointed to assist, and perhaps to control, Dr. Hendley, but inasmuch as this Committee only met twice during eighteen years, you will see it did not do very much harm. The whole credit of the management of the museum belongs to Colonel Hendley.

At a recent meeting of the Society of Arts, Lord Reay and Sir George Birdwood, whom we have the pleasure of seeing here, both spoke of this museum as a most excellent one, and the best museum they had ever known; Lord Reay said he could not conceive anything better. One novel point in its management, which we owe to Colonel Hendley, was that he appointed Indian guides and demonstrators to explain the exhibits to the people who visited it. This was an entirely novel scientific departure, because there never had been guides to museums before. Colonel Hendley instituted these guides in 1892, and it is only recently that his example has been followed by the Albert and Edward and British Museums. The museum fully fulfilled the purposes for which it was established, and up to 1898, when the Colonel retired from his post in Jaipur, this museum had been visited by upwards of three millions of people, and how many people have visited it since it is impossible to say.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I am not an authority on Indian art, and I have never been to Jaipur, and therefore I do not think I need take up your time in talking to you upon subjects of which I am profoundly ignorant. I feel these defects very much, but I hope, after we have heard Colonel Hendley's lecture, these defects will be remedied, if not entirely removed. I will now call upon the lecturer to deliver his lecture.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then proceeded to read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very much indebted to Colonel Hendley for the very interesting lecture he has just delivered. Perhaps some of those present will now be kind enough to make a few remarks. I will call upon Sir George Birdwood to speak first.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said: I am grateful for the opportunity given me by Sir Robert Fulton to express my keen appreciation of Colonel

Hendley's lecture, and, beyond that, of the invaluable service he has rendered throughout his life to the cause of the revival of Indian art. He has been indefatigable in this labour of love, and in the very highest sense successful. It is not only that his museum at Jaipur contains the most impressive collection of the noblest industrial arts of India in India, and that the building itself is a fine and most impressive example of the building style of Rajputana, but that by his richly illustrated monographs and articles in Griggs' *Journal of Indian Art* he has done more than anyone else, before and after him, to revive among the people of India a pride in their own indigenous and idiosyncratic arts. This was no easy achievement. Arrian has told us how ready the ancient people of India were to adopt the arts of other countries; and when I wrote my official handbook on "The Industrial Arts of India," I received several affectionate rebukes from my old Settia friends in Bombay for having belauded the degrading traditional arts of their country on purpose to prevent their having houses and household furniture and decorations "like those of English people"! Colonel Hendley's lot was, however, cast among the heroical *Kshatrya* men and women of Rajputana, with one of the most enlightened of their Princes for their ruler, who backed Colonel Hendley right royally in all he advised and did. But if Colonel Hendley was fortunate in his princely patron, the Prince was even more fortunate, as I said the other day at the Royal Society of Arts, in having Colonel Hendley as his guide, philosopher, and friend, in the truly patriotic and beneficent work in which they both so indefatigably and loyally co-operated, and with such felicitous and brilliant results. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the service thus rendered to India, and to the British Raj in India, by Colonel Hendley—that is, in teaching the people of India to take a pride in their own arts, as Sir William Jones taught them to take a pride in their literature, and Sir Friedrich Max Müller in their religion. How much we owe in this respect to Colonel Hendley personally may be judged from the fact that another distinguished founder of an Indian Museum wrote to me some twenty years ago in a passing fit of irritation telling me, quite affectionately, that there were three men he "particularly detested"—"Max Müller, for his praise of the literature of the Hindus; Edwin Arnold, for his praise of their religion; and you [*i.e.*, I] for your praise of their arts."

I must add a word in hearty acknowledgment of the pleasure I have enjoyed in listening to Colonel Hendley's lecture. It has proved a model of what a lecture illustrated by lantern slides should be—that is to say, the lecturer had not relied solely on his slides, as most lecturers using slides are only too ready to do, but had prepared his text for reading as carefully as if it had not been illustrated by the slides, so carefully, indeed, that you felt independent of the slides in visualizing the objects they depicted. The slides and text had worked together in absolute harmony, without a hitch, and this of itself was a great pleasure. Part of the praise of it was due, of course, to Mr. Davenport, the expert manipulator of the slides; but that in no way detracted from the merit of Colonel Hendley in conscientiously preparing a text which, whether with or without its magic-lantern illustrations, was equally profitable for instruction, for correction, and for inspira-

tion. I have never listened to a lecture with greater serenity and refreshment of spirit, and I thank Colonel Hendley most heartily and gratefully for it.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE said that he was neither an art expert nor an art critic, and he felt he had no right to address such an audience upon a subject so delightfully treated by Colonel Hendley. However, as he had been suddenly called upon by the Chairman, he wished to say that, handled by an experienced man like the Lecturer, even a layman like himself might feel a sense of pride at what India had been capable of doing in the past, in pursuit of high craftsmanship : but at the same time he must confess he felt a sense of sorrow that a people who were capable of producing such magnificent samples of art industry were dependent at the present day upon many foreign articles for their daily use, both for household and for ornamental purposes. A land capable of turning out such articles as had been shown on the screen, ought, in his opinion, under proper guidance, to be able to supply all its wants in that direction, but unfortunately the trend of education followed in India in the last century had resulted almost in the annihilation of Indian industries, which formerly held such a lucrative and honourable place in the economic life of that country. Apart from that feeling which, to some extent, oppressed him during the hearing of the lecture, he thought they would all agree with him that they had had a most enjoyable lecture, of a highly intellectual character, by a gentleman who had devoted the greater part of his life to the promotion and preservation of those arts which at one time made India celebrated, and the arrest of whose further decay ought to engage the attention of Government and people alike. (Hear, hear.)

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said that he could not help thinking what a singularly charming life Colonel Hendley, the Lecturer, must have led, because he not only went out to India with his knowledge of the medical profession, and carried out his labour of love to the people there, but he became a collector and gatherer up of all those charming specimens of Indian art, which enabled him to come and give them such a lecture, which must bind them in sympathy with the Indian people. He personally had served for twenty years in India. That service could be divided into three interesting periods. The first period was of glamour, unceasing travel, and gradual knowledge of the country and its races. The second period was one of war, and pestilence, but in the third period he learned to see more deeply into the real India, that is the India of the people of India, and he then felt that extraordinary sympathy which India is able to develop for herself in those who trouble to know her most. Colonel Hendley, by his lecture, had drawn a great bond of sympathy between the Indian people and those English people who desired to understand the country. He agreed that it was necessary to bring in all the aids of modern civilization, but they were still able to admire the arts and beauties of the country ; there must be a levelling up to a certain extent to our Western ideas, but they must not turn their backs on India's beautiful past. The pictures he had seen had charmed him immensely,

and he felt sure they would have had the same effect on many others. England and India must be drawn together by every possible union and every possible bond, and the study of her art could not be neglected. His whole nature went out to the gradual waking up and development of India and her people, but her ancient arts must never be overlooked. He joined heartily in the vote of thanks to Colonel Hendley.

MR. CHISHOLM: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I have anything to add to the eloquence we have listened to to-day, or to the excellent lecture we have heard. There is only one point, to which with the permission of the Lecturer I should like to call attention. Dr. Hendley alluded to the pottery of Multan as "blue and white," a term which has been employed universally to another kind of pottery, which is as different from the blue and white of Multan as chalk is from cheese. The real blue and white is immortalized by "Bunthorne" in "Patience": "Such a love of blue and white, and other kinds of pottery, from early Oriental down to modern terra-cottary." (Laughter.) The "early Oriental pottery" was certainly not the blue and white of Multan, but the "blue and white" familiar to us all in willow pattern plates and dishes. I agree with the Lecturer that the character of this ware is being destroyed by the introduction of other colours. The pottery is not really "blue and white," it exhibits two colours on a siliceous ground—viz., light-blue green, and dark-purple blue, the former made of oxide of copper, and the latter made of oxide of cobalt; the oxide of copper passes into a metallic condition long before the commercial pottery (which we know in the willow-pattern plates) is touched by the fire. The consequence is that the pottery of Multan is unique, and cannot be imitated in harder ware. All the colours which have been introduced lately can be imitated and illustrated in ordinary commercial ware, but this peculiar pottery of Multan cannot, inasmuch as the copper oxide of the beautiful green-blue would pass into its metallic condition at a low temperature. For that reason it is to be regretted that these modern colours are introduced into the Bombay and Jaipur ware—which is not, strictly speaking, an industrial art so much as a vehicle for artistic display.

MR. COLDSTREAM said that he associated himself with the previous speakers in his appreciation of the excellent paper. The Lecturer had done a great deal for art in Rajputana, and he was particularly interested in his lecture as a topographical survey. The Government of India had taken particular pains to exploit the industrial arts of the various provinces of India—for instance, with reference to wood-carving, glass, pottery, jewellery, and so on—but they still wanted such local surveys of art as a whole, as they had just had the opportunity of listening to with regard to Rajputana. If they had local handbooks of art in the different provinces it would be very desirable, and would help to extend their knowledge of the subject. There were many of the arts mentioned still existing in other parts of the country; for instance, in the Punjab they had the Damascening and encaustic tiles, and to a certain extent the enamelling. These industries were much localized. For instance, they had enamelling in Kangra, a remote hill district, and the Damascening was mainly confined to two or

three districts in the centre of the Punjab—e.g., Gujrat, Sialkot, where it was carried on very efficiently.

MR. OWEN DUNN said that it only remained for him to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer for the great pleasure he had given them. He spoke also on behalf of those present who had not for themselves given expression to the pleasure they all felt at hearing such a very charming lecture. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, in seconding the vote of thanks for Colonel Hendley's most interesting lecture, wished for a still longer time to study the slides as they passed. He desired to express the thanks of the Association to their chairman—Sir Robert Fulton—for his kindness in taking the chair, and for the very interesting remarks with which he introduced the Lecturer. With regard to the lecture itself, one or two points occurred to him, one of which was as to the way in which the artisan in India was able to carry out original designs. He gave some instances from his personal experience.

THE LECTURER: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful to all those who have spoken, and I wish I had not occupied your time so long—(cries of "No, no!")—but the subject could not very well be shortened. I thank Sir Robert Fulton for so kindly occupying the chair this evening, and for the kind things he has said. I do not know that I can say very much in reply, except that I am glad Mr. Chisholm sympathizes with me in the matter of the introduction of a change of colours into the Jaipur pottery. I am afraid Mr. Coldstream's suggestions about a number of special hand-books must remain for a long time in abeyance. Some of us have done what we could with regard to local arts, but I quite agree that much remains to be accomplished. Sir M. Bhownaggee has also referred to the educational system. I agree that, although our system must continue, we may still hope that all that is good in the Indian methods of instruction may eventuate in the revival of Indian art.

Lastly, I wish to thank Sir Arundel Arundel for all he has said with regard to the wonderful ingenuity of Indian art workers. I would simply refer to the old story of Alexander the Great who sent sponges to certain Indians who came into his camp to see if they could reproduce them, which they did as accurately as they could with threads, cotton, and other things, so that they deceived many of the Greeks, and started a story which has survived to this day.

THE HON. SECRETARY said that, without having the permission of the Chairman, he wished to be allowed to second the vote of thanks to him which had been proposed by Sir Arundel Arundel. They were all grateful to Sir Robert Fulton for the admirable manner in which he had fulfilled his duties and the assistance he had rendered to the Association. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very much obliged for those remarks. This has been a very interesting afternoon. We have had a series of confessions—two from Sir George Birdwood, and now another confession from Sir Arundel Arundel. I am very glad I did not know when I was in India that he had been guilty of melting down Queen's coins. (Laughter.)

## THE EARLY EXPLOITATION OF INDIA AND THE INDIAN BORDERLANDS

BY COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G.,  
K.C.I.E., C.B.

PROBABLY no country in the world has instigated such heroic exertions in the matter of exploitation as India. In past ages there was no exploration that had not for its ultimate object the exploitation of the country explored. Scientific geography, discovery for discovery's sake, had no attractions for a barbarous world of half-savage adventurers who aimed at nothing beyond the acquisition of material wealth, and had no use for ideals. Between the organizers and promoters of tentative excursions into foreign lands and those who went down to the sea in ships to carry out their behests there was little to choose. Perhaps that little was in favour of the sailors, who, accustomed to the peril of the sea and familiar with the vast width of the starry sky, could hardly fail to realize a power greater than human energy and a quest more important than that of gold. India was through all ancient centuries the land of man's desire—the promised land, round which there gathered fables and myths innumerable, and which held the golden key to national wealth. As time rolled on, and generation after generation of men from the north, the east, and the west struggled through India's guardian hills or traversed her surrounding seas, it gradually became clear that that golden

key was, at any rate, no myth, for it may, I think, be accepted as an historical fact that the nation which has held the Indian trade has ever been the leading commercial nation of the world. History as regards India is comparatively recent. Six hundred years B.C. bounds the historical horizon, and out of the misty atmosphere which envelops the literature of India previous to that period there is nothing really clear and decisive to be evolved. A certain amount of historical evidence has been unearthed by the patient researches of generations of literary and archæological investigators, and here and there a date has been fixed, but the story of Indian exploitation previous to the days of the Persian Empire can only be one of conjecture. This is much to be regretted from our present point of view, for the eastern world was a most active world in the matter of trade and commercial exploration by land and sea for twenty, if not thirty, centuries B.C. We cannot, indeed, get back to the earliest days of coast navigation. All over the world the savage islander has required no outside teaching to enable him to discover the use of a canoe, or to take advantage of a favourable wind or tide. This appreciation and use of the forces of Nature is probably as old as man's intelligence; but the first people we can actually identify as a sea-faring folk are the Phœnicians.

Off the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, separated from El Hara in Arabia by about twenty miles of sea, there lies a group of islands called Bahrein. There is not much in them. The largest is only twenty-seven miles in length by about ten wide. This is Bahrein. The next in size is Moharek, separated from Bahrein, and north of it, by a strait of a mile in width. This island is about five miles long and a half-mile broad. From these two islands there extend seawards two coral reefs which shut in a harbour only approachable by small vessels. The shallowness of the clear sea above the coral reefs is such that no boat can touch the shore, and landing is effected by hasty transfer from the boat to the backs of large white donkeys,



which make rapidly for dry land, pursued by a mob of unruly and half-naked Arab boys. The transfer from the boat to the saddleless donkey has to be rapid, otherwise donkeys and boys would inevitably sink the boat. The other islands of the group are insignificant. Arad is the only one which retains its ancient name; the others, according to Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, being called Tyros or Tylos. Sidodona is also a recognized name amongst them. The chief town of the group, Manameh, is quite a clean, respectable-looking Arab town, very different to the ill-kept and filthy Persian towns on the opposite coast. Arabs have rudimentary ideas on the subject of sanitation; Persians have none. The Bahrein islands have long been celebrated for their pearl fisheries, and a comparatively late visitor in 1510, Albuquerque, notes the barley crops and the variety of fruits. To the Portuguese seaman any fruit would commend itself; but there is not much sign either of crops or fruit in these days, and it appeared to me that the staple food-supply of Manameh was seaweed. The greater part of Bahrein is desert sand, the blinding glare of which is only relieved by groups of dark palms, throwing black shadows on the white floor. In the midst of the island is a limestone hill about 400 feet high, with a depression all round it. Here, according to classical authors, was the original home of the Phoenicians, and here have they certainly lain buried for many centuries. Looking across the open plain to the north of the hill Jebel Dukan (or mist mountain) there is a vision of shining white tumuli glistening in the sunlight, flanked by black-shadowed palm-groves with glimpses of an azure-blue sea beyond. One or two of these tumuli (hardened to the consistency of conglomerate) were opened by Edward Durand when he was on political duty in Persia. Some more were opened later by Theodore Bent in 1888, and the double-storyed, stone-encased tombs, with rolling stone doors, which were then unearthed proved to contain, amidst the dust of ages and crumbling tags of cloth, certain fragments of ostrich shell and ivory

decorated with unmistakable Phœnician design. So the classical authorities were, as usual, correct. But when did the Phœnicians migrate to Syria? and how is it that they, the most enterprising of all commercial adventurers that have ever existed, apparently turned their backs on India to go northwards? The date of their emigration is beyond our ken; but it has often occurred to me that the old-world tradition of the Turanian peoples who inhabited southern Chaldea long before the days of Abraham, which traditions were to the effect that the fish-god Oannes came up from the southern seas to teach them civilization, may point to that prehistoric time, and that the people of Shumir and Accad (who were not necessarily cognate tribespeople, as is frequently assumed from their common language) owed such rudiments of civilization as they possessed to those world-wide explorers the Phœnicians, as they made their slow way northward to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

It is, however, passing strange that the first organized and systematic emigration from what was doubtless an overcrowded island group, which must have occurred from 3,000 to 4,000 years B.C., was directed away from that Eastern bourne of all subsequent historical commercial quests. That the Phœnicians were great navigators in those early days is certain, and that they knew their way to India is evidenced by the quantities of very ancient glass relics which are to be found all along the coast of Makrin between the Persian Gulf and India. This glass, which is chiefly in the form of bangles, may have been of Egyptian, Babylonian or Phœnician origin. In any case it was conveyed in Phœnician ships. India was then peopled with pre-Aryan tribes who were incapable probably of developing the resources of the country. There were no rich kingdoms to exploit and no commerce to speak of—nothing to excite the cupidity of the adventurer, or to repay what must always have been a risky venture. On the other side was Egypt, already highly civilized. The leading nation upon

earth, with immense promises for the future, and possibly already possessing the rudiments of a commercial navy. Then again, there was further the question of climate. It passes imagination to understand how a virile and adventurous people like the Phœnicians should ever have been bred in the humid atmosphere of these Persian Gulf islands, if the climate six thousand years ago was as it is to-day. The desire to reach more favourable conditions for development is easily understood, and it is thus probably that the earliest navigators of the world were impelled north—ever north and west—till they passed Syria and the Mediterranean, and reaching beyond the islands of Britain, founded settlements on the coast of Scandinavia. But we may, I think, take it that the Phœnicians were probably the first to tap the wealth of India before historical times. If we assume that commercial enterprise amounted to exploitation, they were first in the field. Irruptions into India from the north and north-west had of course been a part of the movement of Asiatic tribes still in the nomadic stage of human existence from time immemorial. In days when the geographical features of Western India, if not the northern mountain regions, were very different in topographical distribution to what they are now, there must have been periods of Dravidian immigration from the north-west, the effects of which are still traceable in the ethnology of the central and southern parts of India. These irruptions culminated with that great immigration from the north, which we call Aryan, with which the regeneration of India from a land of jungle and swamp into a highly productive region may be said to have commenced.

With the dawn of civilization and the development of agricultural and mineral wealth the era of historical exploitation set in. But long before the evolution of Indian history Indian exploitation had commenced. Whether that earliest exploitation was by land or sea is comparatively unimportant, but probably the caravan traffic was older than that which crawled along the sea-coast and brought

ivory and apes and peacocks to Syria in the days of Solomon. Commercially, there was probably no through traffic. Interchange of commodities was effected at points along the route, and it was only in the train of the conqueror that men made their way right through from west to east. Before the days of Alexander it is consequently the exploitation of India by conquest rather than commerce which stands out clearest in the misty records of the past. Assyria was undoubtedly first to make an impression on India by land. Two thousand years B.C. Assyria and Babylonia were united in one monarchy under Ninus, the son of Belus, or Nimrod, who had subdued Asia Minor, Persia, and Bactria before he took Babylon. There is a very ancient tradition in Badakshan (the ancient Bactria) that Balkh, its one-time capital, was founded by Nimrod, or Belus. Balkh is known to this day, all along the Oxus, as the "Mother of Cities." It would seem, therefore, that direct connexion existed between Nineveh and Balkh (which pointed one of the high roads to India) even before the days of Ninus. When I visited Balkh in 1885 there was nothing in the modern city of irregular and mud-filled streets permeating a town of squat, flat-roofed buildings surrounded by a city wall in the last stages of disrepair, and only relieved by the picturesque existence of a half-ruined mosque and a very creditable caravanserai, which indicated so ancient a history. There were the remains of a Buddhist stupa or two, and a ruined and unserviceable fort at a little distance from the city walls; and in the distance southwards the long flat line of the Elburz, through a crack in which the narrow highway led by Haibak to the serried ranks of the mountain ridges, beyond which lay Kabul and India. There was nothing visible to denote such ancient history as must envelop Balkh, except endless grass-grown mounds, which, catching the rays of the western sun, threw long shadows athwart the plains, extending in disorderly variety to the north and west of the city. Until another Layard arises to dig out Balkh we shall never know the untold

wealth of Eastern story which lies buried in solid layers beneath that uninviting town of Afghan Turkestan. North of Balkh and north-west are the remains of the old canal system, which carried the waters of the Oxus through the plains. They seemed to me to denote the same process of ages of abandonment and disrepair as that of the past great irrigation works of Babylon, which yet streak the plains to the north of the mounds and ditches of that ancient city. They might easily be as old, and, like the Babylonian works, they indicate an age of slave labour, when nations were conquered and transported bodily to assist in developing such public works. It is quite certain that ages before the advent of the Greeks there was a well-trodden highway between Assyria and the plains of Balkh continuing through Baktria over the Hindu Kush to Kabul and India. There occurs in misty record the story of the invasion of India by Simiramis, Queen of Assyria, about 2000 B.C. It is but vaguely referred to in classical history, the point of the story being an apparently disastrous retreat through Makran. It was because Simiramis failed that Alexander (so says Arrian) attempted the feat. Whatever truth may attach to such history (if it can be regarded as history at all) the evidences of a constant intercommunication between Assyria and North-Western India through the ages preceding the Greek invasion are to be found indelibly stamped on the industrial arts of the north-west until this day.

For the relations between Assyrian art and that of Western India, we must turn to the pages of Sir G. Birdwood's inimitable work on the "Industrial Arts of India." There is not room here for a disquisition on art. It is possible, as Sir George Birdwood says, that India and Assyria may have found a common origin for the art of the potter and carpet-weaver in the Turanian traditions which preceded the Semitic occupation of Chaldea, or the Aryan immigration into India. That, however, seems to be almost an unnecessary deduction from the fact of their

similarity, in face of the certainty of long ages of inter-communication subsequently. The fact is that "pottery is still made all over India for daily use, which is in reality older," in design and form, "than the oldest remains we possess of the ceramic art of ancient Greece or Italy." Even the potter himself has not changed. He works as of old in the spirit of serenity and dignity. "He knows nothing," says Sir George Birdwood, "of the desperate struggle for existence which oppresses the life and crushes the very soul out of the English working man. He has his assured place inherited from father to son for a hundred generations in the national church and state organization, while Nature provides him with everything to his hand." "The sun is the Indian workman's co-operative landlord, coal merchant, upholsterer, tailor, publican, and butcher; his head partner from whom he gets almost everything he wants, and free of all cost but his labour contribution towards the trade union village corporation of which he is an indispensable and essential member." Thus he gives to his work (which to him is a religious function) that contentment of mind and leisure, and pride and pleasure in it for its own sake, which are essential to all artistic excellence. As for the Assyrian and Levitical "knop and flower" pattern, with the infinite variations on the "tree of life," which are introduced in almost all Asiatic carpet designs, we are all of us sufficiently familiar with them even if we do not all of us immediately recognize their origin.

Solid historical ground for the consideration of the earliest exploitation of India is not reached till we touch the records of the great Persian Empire under Darius. Rather more than five centuries B.C. (on the authority of Herodotus), we learn of that first expedition down the Indus, starting from a point somewhere near Attok, which under Scylax, a Greek, was to explore the country and lead to a subsequent invasion. In the Behistun inscription, which is dated not long after the great revolts which led to the assumption of sovereign power in Persia by Darius, son of Hystaspes,

there is no mention made of an Indian province; but the careful enumeration by Herodotus of the geographical position of the Persian satrapies and of the tribal distribution of their inhabitants, many of whom are to be recognized in their original habitat to this day, leaves no doubt as to that subsequent conquest of India or as to the extent of it. In order to appreciate the value of this extension of Persian dominion, it is well to remember that for centuries before the days of Darius there were regular monarchies of some size even in distant Iranian lands. There are unmistakable evidences of the ancient empire in Baktria, with Balkh as its capital, which controlled the fertile Valley of the Oxus, which was probably coeval with Nineveh and reached a high pitch of civilization. Modern evidence of the widespread existence of the ancient Persian or Median stock, which we call Tajik, and the survival of an archaic form of the Persian language prevailing all through Asia from the Euphrates to the Oxus, and pervading the whole north-western Indian borderland, including Baluchistan and Afghanistan, testifies to the extent of Persian ethnographic influence, if not of Persian dominion. It was probably before the days of Darius that the Greek colonies on the Euxine gradually extended themselves eastward till they reached the foothills of the Hindu Kush, and were pushed into the rugged wilderness of Kafiristan. The routes eastward from Chaldea and Asia Minor were evidently well known and well trodden. The geographical distribution of mountain and desert in Persia has not changed since the time of Darius, and the great north road from the Caspian to Herat and Balkh, or the southern route from Persepolis to Kirman and the Indus Valley were equally open—more open indeed than they are now. That Darius should have recognized a sea-route to India was only natural when we think of some of the naval episodes of that momentous contest for supremacy which continued for ages between Greece and Persia.

But what was India in those days? We may take it for

granted that the only part of the Indian peninsula included in those ancient conquests was the Valley of the Indus. The rich and teeming plains to the south-east of the Indus were known only by report to those early conquerors. The Indus was frequently called the sea by them, as it was centuries later by early Arab immigrants. Even as late as one thousand years in our own era the deserts of Rajputana, Sind, and the Punjab bounded the enterprise of northern raids. When the conquest of India is spoken of in the earliest historical records, it may be assumed that the India to which that history referred was almost identically the same region as was subsequently known as Khorasan, and that it included the Asiatic kingdoms and peoples that were geographically nearest the Indus to the north-west of that river. Kabul was an "Indian" city in medieval geography, and only appears to be entirely dissociated from India when the Afghan kingdom was carved out by Ahmad Shah in the eighteenth century. The fact that no further progress was made beyond the Indus Valley was doubtless due to the geographical separation of that valley from the cultivated and comparatively wealthy regions of the Indian peninsula, from which it was divided by wide stretches of difficult and unproductive country, if not of absolute desert. It is impossible to suppose that reports of the wealth that lay beyond in the regions of the south did not reach the ears of Persian or Greek invaders, but there was ever present the dread of crossing those blazing, waterless, sun-scorched tracts that flanked the eastern banks of the river towards the south, and which separated by many miles of weary marching its great tributaries from each other on the north. We must remember the conditions under which armies marched in those days—heavily armoured for the most part, without efficient commissariat, or any sort of medical assistance, dependent on the country of their invasion for their supplies of food and shelter. These were conditions which did not render campaigning in High Asia, where vast hordes of people



have from time immemorial shifted their habitat, and traversed the continent by certain well-recognized and well-trodden routes, always supplying their wants from local sources, a matter of dread or of difficulty. The climate for the most part is favourable to movement. From the highlands of Persia and the uplands of Greece there is no immediate change in the general climatic conditions until the invader passes the gates of the north-western frontier hills, and steps down into the trough of the Indus. From this trough there was, in those early days, nothing but a red-hot stretch of barren country, sweltering under a dust-laden sky, to face an invader if he attempted to move eastward by any route but that which hugged the northern hills. Small wonder, then, that the Greek army mutinied when they reached the Beás, and that Medes and Persians found the outlook beyond the Indus quite unattractive. Even that great conqueror of India, the Turk emperor Babar, first of the so-called Mogul Dynasty, found existence at Delhi almost insupportable; and it was only by the exercise of an iron determination that he faced the piteous appeals of his nobles and captains to be allowed to return to the delights of Kabul, and abandon further enterprise in the plains of India altogether. But this being so, what about the Persian exploitation of India? We know for certain from contemporary historians that a large part of the revenues of the great empire of Persia was drawn from India. Doubtless trade with India assisted to swell the coffers of the Imperial treasury to a certain extent, but in those days revenue was not derived so much from trade as in the actual weight of bullion demanded from conquered nations. It was tribute, not trade, that was looked for as the reward of victory. Where did that gold come from? It is possible, indeed probable, that some of the present known sources of gold in the peninsula were worked 500 B.C., and the wealth of India in gold and precious stones must have been rumoured before the days of Solomon. But a conquest which only included the India of the

Khorasan and the Indus could not at first sight have been productive of much gold.

There is no sign in these days that gold could be worked to a profit in Afghanistan or in Badakshan, although the days of forced slave labour may have seen a certain amount extracted from the soil in both countries. Presumably the unconquered kingdoms of the Indian plains contributed nothing to the maintenance of the Persian Empire. We must, however, remember that the revenues of an empire, even as overgrown as that of Persia in the days of Herodotus, were but a fraction of those which would be required to maintain a kingdom of much more modest dimensions in these days. Wealth was concentrated in the Courts of Kings and their immediate environment. Those were not the days of millionaire subjects, nor even of rich land-owners. When we are impressed with the tales of the magnificence of the courtly State maintained by early historical sovereigns, we are affected only by the conveyance to us of the impressions of contemporary witnesses who wrote and spoke in terms of comparison with what they knew or believed to exist elsewhere. If we could be witnesses ourselves of the recorded splendour of those times, we should doubtless be filled with wonder at the magnificence of such palaces, temples, pyramids, and public works as were the works of men's hands, works which cost but little and were the direct result of conquest and slave labour; but for the display of wealth immediately surrounding the Court, the concentrated and undistributed wealth represented by imported gold, we should probably be as much impressed with its tawdriness as we are when we witness similar conditions in any native State in India. Nevertheless, a very large importation of gold from India undoubtedly existed in the times of which Herodotus wrote, and the question is, where did it come from? I believe myself that it came from Tibet. The enormous extent of the alluvial workings in the western provinces of Tibet must have been productive of vast quantities of gold, which

seldom remained to enrich those inhospitable highlands. These workings cover hundreds of square miles of uninviting plateau land, whilst we know that gold in nuggets is taken from the hard rock bottoms of many a pebble-filled stream in the eastern provinces. Tibet, indeed, seems to be the original storehouse of gold for all Asia. Every river which takes its rise on the Tibetan highlands washes down a certain amount of gold. Thus no doubt gold was found on the Indus and some of the tributaries where it is no longer worth the trouble of working. There never was any mining or quartz crushing in Tibet. It has all been shovel work and stream-washing. It may seem a "far cry" from Tibet to the Persian capital, but it is not in fact half the distance from the western gold-fields of Tibet to Balkh that it is to Peking, and to Peking yearly consignments of gold have traversed Tibet from the earliest days of Chinese supremacy until quite lately. The trail of the Persian is all over Badakshan and part of the Pamirs, and I believe that Persian India stretched itself to include Western Tibet. From the very earliest times of which we have any record there appear to have been persistent Oriental tales of gold-digging ants guarded by fierce dogs in India. It is only recently that the origin of these tales has been traced to the queer resemblance to ants which the Tibetan diggers assume when crouching under their black blankets they scratch the soil with long antelope horns in search of surface gold.

After Persia, Greece took up the tale of exploitation. When Alexander set out on his world-wide scheme of conquest through Asia, some three centuries before the Christian era, he organized an expedition which was for its time as complete in scientific equipment as any of modern days. He was, in the first place, fully acquainted with the general geography of the countries he must pass through, and with the special geographical details of the routes which led to India. They were, in fact, great trade highways, and he acquired, as he progressed, all the knowledge that the

Persian intelligence department possessed of what directly concerned their own empire. Greeks (or Pelasgi) had traversed some of those routes long before Alexander. So long before that when he actually encountered their descendants in the northern hills of India he had no knowledge of how they came to be there.

In some of the upper valleys of the Badakshan rivers—in Andaráb and about the northern foot of the Hindu Kush—there are villages whose names indicate a Greek origin. This is not surprising if we remember that a quasi-Greek occupation of Badakshan continued long after Greek influence and institutions had been cast out of the Indus Valley, subsequent to Alexander's expedition. But it seems probable that there were Greek colonies settled there even before Alexander appeared at the gates of the Hindu Kush, and that there must have been a tide of western immigration setting in towards Northern India for centuries. When we consider the extraordinary extent of international movement which must have taken place in those early centuries as indicated by the ethnology of present inhabitants, there is nothing surprising in this. It would, indeed, be more surprising if there were no evidence in the East of the energy or geographical initiative of the most civilized people of the West in those days. We need not concern ourselves with Alexander's progress through High Asia. There was hard fighting to be done ere the Persian barrier could be broken through, and the Central Asian States be reduced to a proper recognition of the invincibility of the Greek force, and rendered secure from meddling with the line of communication. Nothing is more wonderful than the success of Alexander's efforts to maintain constant communication with Europe. He had apparently no difficulty in keeping up the strength of his force by the addition of contingents from Greece. He secured a fresh supply of armour, which must have been badly needed before he reached the Indus, and he even sent back specimens of the cattle of the Indian border countries to Greece for the

improvement of the home breed. There was a fine admixture of severity and clemency in his methods which insured such results, and there was no political party behind him (at least, I have read of none) to request his recall if his methods now and then appeared to be too drastic. Eventually, after a progress through Asia which is one of the most astonishing romances of military history, he occupied the plains of Kabul, founded a city as usual, and proceeded to invade India. We need not follow his military progress in detail. Step by step it has been traced out, and although students of classical history may disagree on the position of some of the places and incidents mentioned in Arrian's story, it is quite clear that his general plan of action was to deal first with those independent tribes who might harry his line of advance, and to make no move into the plains of India until he had secured his communications with Kabul. He was consequently engaged in successive actions with the tribes to the north of what we know as the Khaibar route, and he followed a line of advance which has not been made use of in any recent campaigns. Taxila, the great centre of trade and of learning, three marches to the east of the Indus, surrendered without a blow, in the year 327 B.C., probably because its ruler was then engaged in hostilities with the great King Porus to the south, and he was anxious for Alexander's assistance. Then followed the dramatic defeat of Porus in May, 326 B.C., near Jhelum, the advance to the Beás River, involving several severe actions. This was the limit of Alexander's movement eastwards. It was here that the Greek army mutinied and declined to go further. It was in the month of July, and one can imagine the effect of the stagnant heat, the weary sleepless nights, the insupportable oppression of the dull, heat-ridden days on an army wearied to death with hard marching and constant fighting under the dead weight of Greek armour. The men who never before had failed him now refused to listen, and so, with leaden feet and weary hearts, the Greek army

returned to the Indus. Then followed the voyage down the river to the sea, chequered with hard fighting at intervals, and the final withdrawal of the force through Makran to Persia. It was in Makran that Alexander lost so much of his force through thirst. There was no lack of water, had he followed the right and obvious route. But it is admitted that he did not know the route, and he was, moreover, anxious to be as near to his slow moving coasting fleet of Indus-built boats as he could, in order to insure their safety. This was his undoing. His general, Krateros, succeeded in reaching Persia from Sind with the heavy baggage and the elephants, by a route which must have passed by Quetta and Kalat. It was at Quetta that a small bronze figure of Hercules was found when we were constructing the Quetta defences. This must have been abandoned during the march of Krateros. This is quite enough to prove that the western gates of India were open at that time even to heavy traffic. Too much has been made by historians of Alexander's disastrous march through Makran. There is evidence enough to prove that there was more water in Makran 300 years B.C. than there is now, but the route which he selected was fatal.

What did the Greeks acquire by this exploitation of the fringe of India? We know that in the short course of two or three years the Greek occupation of the Indus Valley ceased to exist after Alexander's death in the year 323 B.C. It was practically wiped out by a young Hindu named Chandragupta Maurya, an exiled and illegitimate member of the reigning family of Maghada. The kingdom of Maghada was at that time the most important kingdom in the Indian peninsula. With the assistance of an army of border ruffians, probably not very dissimilar to those whom we recognize as independent tribe people to-day, Chandragupta placed himself on the throne of Maghada, and rapidly extended his authority over the whole of the north-west frontier of India and through Baluchistan and Afghanistan to the foot of the Hindu

Kush. So far, then, brilliant as had been the military achievements of Alexander—perhaps the greatest general that the world has ever seen—masterly as had been his organization, his strategy, and tactics in the field, the world gained nothing by the awful suffering which he inflicted. Greece gained little or nothing, and for seventy years after his death Greek triumphs were but a memory. Then arose a partial Hellenization of the north-west border lands of India by the separation of Bactria and Parthia from the Syrian kingdom of Antiochus Theos, and their assumption of the rank of independent States. It was then probably that some effect was produced in the interior of India on the development of fine arts, and that Græco-Buddhist sculpture sprang into existence. But there was little else that could be claimed as an institution of Greek origin; and it is extremely doubtful if that most marvellous record of the triumphal progress of the Greeks to India and the chequered course of subsequent Greek occupation beyond the Indus with a few successful expeditions into India, brought any store of wealth to Greece or contributed in any other way to the permanent benefit of that country. Greek rule in Bactria ended about 130 B.C. with the invasion of a Central Asian horde who overwhelmed the last Greek King of Bactria and destroyed Hellenic rule for ever north of the Hindu Kush.

After the Greeks many successive invaders—Parthians, Scythians, and Huns—entered India through the North-West passes, all seeking to exploit India for their own benefit after being driven from more inhospitable regions in High Asia, either by pressure of their own increased population, or forced from their country by yet more powerful invaders from beyond. For centuries the tide set Indiadwards. We read of no backward flow, except in the case of those who were able to return to their own country, and these no doubt carried a certain limited amount of wealth with them. The great majority, however, became absorbed in the country of their adoption, and their descen-

dants contributed to the development of Indian agriculture and trade as Indian citizens. There was no further definite and continuous exploitation of India until the days of Islam, when a people differing in religious faith from the ancient faith of the Hindu first thrust in the wedge of conquest from the west towards the Indus, and subsequently raided India periodically during medieval times, producing deep and lasting results upon that country, and undoubtedly adding enormously to the wealth and power of their own. Pre-Muhammadan Arab races had doubtless exploited India peacefully for centuries before Muhammadan invasions.

The beginning of that sea supremacy which was subsequently developed into an aggressive form by Arabs and Turks in medieval ages is lost in antiquity ; but it is, as I have said, highly probable that from the days of the Persian Gulf Phœnicians coasting-ships had crawled their slow way along the shores of the Red Sea and Makran to India, and had established trading depots which enabled them to maintain an interchange of traffic with those Chinese junks which are said to have sailed as far west as the Red Sea. We cannot, indeed, get back to the earliest records of this Eastern trade ; we only know from fairly certain history when it was that Muhammadan Arabs evinced that practical interest in India which led them to the conquest of the Indus Valley, and extended their marvellous system of Asiatic caravan trade till it covered nearly all Asia. Muhammad died in the year A.D. 632, and Islam became a militant faith animated by a spirit of missionary enterprise united with a truly Semitic appreciation of temporal wealth and power. It was when Muhammadan armies were engaged in the conquest of Spain on the west, and of Khiva on the north, that Muhammad, son of Kasim (who was but seventeen years of age), was sent by the Kalif Walid, his father-in-law, to conquer India in the year A.D. 711. As the Arabs then held Persia and Makran there was no difficulty



in the way of a military advance through the latter country. This expedition was notable for several reasons : The extreme youth of its commander ; its organization as both a military and a naval expedition ; its extraordinary success ; and the ultimate tragedy of Muhammad Kasim's death—for he was finally recalled from India by the Kalif Sulaiman who tortured him in prison till he died. With but 6,000 camel riders and 3,000 infantry from Syria, supported by a naval contingent which conveyed such siege weapons as were used in those days, the great fort of Debal in the Indus delta was reduced, and the subsequent victorious progress of Muhammad Kasim up the Indus Valley only stopped at Kashmir. This was in the year A.D. 712-13. With a chequered history the rule of the Arab in the Indus lasted for about three centuries, until Mahmud of Ghazni put an end to it by expelling the Karmatian rulers from Multan.

Again, we find that foreign ascendancy was confined to the Valley of the Indus. Nor can there be much reason to doubt that it was the old geographical difficulty presented by the position of that valley with regard to the rest of India, rather than any slackness of initiative on the part of the Arab, that prevented his supremacy in the peninsula. The Indus Valley was, however, exploited in a manner differing greatly from that of any previous invasion. Magnificent cities sprung up ; high roads were made with definite stages and halting-places ; huge caravanserais, baths, and public buildings were common to these Arab towns ; and the Arabs, who are ever traders first and soldiers afterwards, grew wealthy, whilst the capital at Baghdad grew fat with the spoils of India. Nothing in the history of the world's development is more remarkable than the vast network of trade routes which covered the face of Asia from the Oxus to the Indus in the palmy days of Muhammadan ascendancy. The position and extent of them has recently been fairly well illustrated. The Arab was perhaps the first to lay the foundation of all

sound colonization. If he exploited a country for his own benefit, he at least was equally a benefactor to the country. Owing, however, to the fact that the original Arab invaders brought no women with them (contrary to their usual custom), but took wives of the women of the country, the Arab language seems to have rapidly disappeared from the Indus Valley; for the child talks its mother's tongue rather than its father's. At the present time there is much less Arabic to be recognized in the colloquial language of the Indus Valley than there is, for instance, in Argentine Spanish.

After the Arab, there came a deluge of Turkish irruptions into Northern India, culminating in the fifteen raids which were carried out successfully by Mahmud of Ghazni in the twenty-eight years at the commencement of the eleventh century; but it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that we find Muhammadan supremacy established in Northern India, from Peshawur to the Bay of Bengal. The thirty years of conquest which began about the year 1176, ended in a military occupation, with political supremacy centred at Delhi, which extended over about half the peninsula.

During these three centuries Northern India had been exploited for the benefit of the Afghan conquerors, who had carried off vast treasures to Ghazni and to Ghor, where India's wealth was expended in the erection and adornment of magnificent cities, of which not a vestige remains at this day. The very site of Ghor was difficult to determine, though I believe that we know it now; and the desolate plain of Ghazni, with its ruined shrines and one or two pathetic-looking minars, gives no sign of the splendours which must once have adorned it. For my own part, I believe the magnificence of these past cities of Afghanistan to have been greatly exaggerated. Thirty-four Turkish kings ruled at Delhi from 1206 to 1526 A.D., and then they were replaced by a new Turkish Dynasty from fresh Asiatic fields, which lasted under the name of the Moghul

Dynasty until our own time. It was a cruel irony of fate which gave the name Moghul—or Mongul—to the most magnificent succession of Turkish emperors that the world has ever seen. The founder of the empire—Babar—detested the Monguls with a whole-hearted detestation. They are a different people. To this day there is no comparison in the scale of advanced and enlightened humanity between the debased Buddhist or Shamanistic Mongul and the Muhammadan Turk, even when they are living side by side. Read Mr. Douglas Carruthers' delightful book on Mongolia, and you will see what he says about it. Then, after the days of the Afghan kings, followed the exploitation of India by sea—the race for India's trade between Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. This is modern history, which cannot be recounted here. It would provide matter, indeed, for many lectures. As a result we find that India is still being exploited, inasmuch as England is greater and richer for her Indian dependency. But the exploitation has taken to itself new forms and new hopes and aspirations, with the exploitations of the land by means of canals and railways, the exploitation of trade by the wide extension of agricultural areas, the exploitation of scientific means of dealing with the horrors of famine and pestilence, which, whilst they have brought to India far more material wealth than has ever been taken out of her, have rendered the task of administration infinitely greater and more complicated by reason of the enormous growth of her population.

Thus we have seen that through all the ages India has been essentially a land of exploitation. From the days of the Phœnician sailor and of Solomon to the last of the conquerors of India has she been the desire of men's eyes, the golden treasure-house of Asia. And yet India has always held her own. India is far richer to-day than she ever was in the palmiest days of her prosperity under the Maurya Dynasty or the Turkish emperors. What is the reason of this unique position amongst the nations? We

can give at least two fundamental reasons: her geographical position and her climate. With a barrier almost impassable of mountains and deserts on her northern and north-western sides, and the sea on her eastern and western shores, she was for countless ages, until the development of ocean commerce, practically too difficult of approach for direct military invasion. Persians, Greeks, and Arabs have occupied the trans-Indus provinces and the extreme northern hills, but they were all held up from further exploitation by the deserts flanking the Indus, and by the unendurable heat of the climate. Consequently neither Persians, Greeks, nor Arabs have left a permanent impression on India and Indian institutions. Assyria and Greece have indeed influenced the art of an imitative people, and Greece has made some slight mark on the ethnographical distributions of the northern tribes, which may be faintly recognized to-day in Kaffiristan and, I think possibly, in the villages of Andarab, under the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush. But independently of these military expeditions, which have left no trace in the plains of India, there have been countless irruptions of Aryans, Dravidians, Skyths, and cognate Central Asian peoples, who have been driven from Central Asian fields southward into India, and who have amalgamated together with the aboriginal Dravidians into a compact federation of nationalities, often hardly to be distinguished from each other, which forms the bulk of the Indian population of to-day.

It is to this huge (now unwieldy) population that India owes its wealth and has always owed its wealth. The mineral wealth of India has always been considerable, but it is nevertheless chiefly to agriculture and the development of many industries that India has owed that extraordinary recuperative power the results of which were once concentrated in the hands of its rulers to the impoverishment of the nation as a whole, and thus were a comparatively easy prey to the victorious exploiter. Until the Turk came from Afghanistan, I doubt if much solid wealth found its way

out of the plains of India. When it changed hands as the result of international war within the limits of India, it at least remained within these limits. It was no longer taken away, but continued to swell the coffers of some Indian potentate. When the Afghan Turk descended upon the plains he, no doubt, thrust both hands into these coffers and at first carried away great stores of gold and treasure to the north. But from the day that he settled in India this continuous outflow of wealth ceased. Once again the fertility of the country, the patient industry of its hordes of workers renewed its wealth, which, no longer flowing north for the benefit of the ephemeral cities of Afghanistan, concentrated itself in the Courts of its foreign rulers. But whilst India has thus maintained a position which is unique in Asia as a land for exploitation, and has held her own in the world's economy by reason of her isolated (almost insular) position and her recuperative climate, how is it that she has never risen to the necessity of defending and maintaining her own against the power of the exploiter? In ancient times this was a matter of military efficiency and fighting force.

Here again climate has much to account for. The original immigrants from High Asia, who made up the human amalgam representing the northern people of the plains, came themselves of fighting stock; and in the northern and western regions of India, where life was a struggle against comparatively desert conditions, and the strength of a man was unsapped by a humid atmosphere, whilst his caste called him to the soldier's profession (as in Rajputana and Sind), he was ever a formidable foe in the field. But for the vast mass of the sweltering Indian plains people the profession of war was contrary to caste and prejudice and habit. Magnificent as was the military spirit which animated the Rajput of old, he was no match in military science for the trained forces of Greek or Turk. It was the old, old story of the hill-bred man against the plains man—of hardened and trained vigour animated by

deadly unity of purpose against a valiant but decadent military race. Just as the savage hosts of the Shepherd Kings demolished the old civilization of Egypt; as Persia succumbed to the Macedonian; as the Roman Empire was broken up by the Goths; so apparently did the hill-bred Turk of Afghanistan (assisted by the Mongol) dispose of the plains-bred Hindu of India whenever he met him. Thus it fell out that since Nature had decreed that India should be rich and that the northern races should be strong, the Hindu, as a national entity, has ever been under the dominion of the foreigner, and the only change of alien sovereignty which he has known has been the change from East to West. And so, if heredity counts for anything, will it continue. A self-governing federation of Hindu and Muhammadan states with an army strong enough for defence will never be combined under one Indian ruler.

After the exploitations by land—exploitations from the highlands of Afghanistan and High Asia—came the exploitations by sea. And although these exploitations may be said to have commenced on strictly legitimate commercial lines, European rivalry in the ocean-field soon led to extensions of influence within the India that lay beyond the coast line, and led by degrees to conquest and annexation.

Now on this latter-day form of exploitation we may just for a minute observe that India was as defenceless and even more helpless than she was when confronting her northern foes. It is a remarkable fact that with all her length of seaboard, India has never possessed a true seagoing population, or anything approaching to a navy. Ever since the days of the Phœnicians trade has come to India—it may be from Egypt, or the Persian Gulf, or from China—and yet she has never reciprocated by floating a single commercial ship for broad ocean traffic. India has never possessed a navy; never made a bid for command of the sea against Arab or Turk, because she has never bred sailors. I shall be told that our big merchant liners of the

P. and O. and other lines are manned with Indian lascars. That may be ; but are they really sailors in the full sense of that term ? Is there any naval captain who would care to fight his ship, to take her into a red-hot action, manned by lascars ? I doubt it. I know that men can be recruited on the west coast of India, notably about Rutnagiri, who appear to have the very saltiness of the true tar about them ; but they are few, and, after all, they have never been tried. I doubt if they are sailors as English and Norwegians, Dutchmen, Chilians, and Japanese are sailors ; and in these days it is well to remember that still the command of the sea depends not so much on the size of the ship as on the man behind the gun. It is to our sailors that we owe it. After all the long experiences of bygone ages in the exploitation of India, we still hold our own in that great final exploitation which we trust and believe is an exploitation as much for India's benefit as it is for our own.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, March 10, 1914, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W., at which a paper was read by Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., on "The Early Exploitation of India and the Indian Borderlands." General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Spencer, K.C.B., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Barrow, Lady Holdich, Mrs. Pollen, Miss Pollen, Miss Barrow, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Grose, Mr. Mohammed Yamin Khan, Major Longridge, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Hammond, Mrs. and Miss Hastings, Miss Webster, Mrs. Tate, Mr. K. P. K. Menon, Miss Prendergast, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. N. L. Hallward, Miss Wade, Major Wright, Colonel E. G. Hales, Mrs. Wigley, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. N. C. Sen, Captain Cotton, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Major Skene Thomson, Colonel A. U. S. Wingate, Mr. Ramdas Chhokra, Mr. Denyer, Mr. N. B. Leash, Mr. N. P. Wadia, The Rev. J. R. Brown, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. W. H. Dawson, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. H. Faraker, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it seems almost futile to go through the form of introducing the Lecturer to you, as he is not only well known in England as a geographer, but his reputation, I may say, extends to three continents, Europe, Asia, and South America. By his geographical labours and his erudite researches he has earned for himself a world-wide reputation, and no one is better qualified than Sir Thomas Holdich to address you on the subject of the exploitation of India from early times. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read by Sir Thomas Holdich.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, we are all very much obliged to Sir Thomas Holdich for the splendid address he has given us.

We have had a most interesting and instructive afternoon, and I am afraid any observations I may make will fall somewhat flat after the learned disquisition to which Sir Thomas Holdich has treated us.

There is one subject, however, on which I, as a soldier, regret he dwelt



so lightly, namely, Alexander's march from Kabul to the Indus. Now it is quite certain that in Alexander's time the Khaibar was the grand trade route from Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan to India. Apart from the fact that nature has clearly marked it as such, the Buddhist ruins along it distinctly indicate it as the "Badshahi Sarakh" or "Royal Road," by which epithet it is described to this day. If so, why did not Alexander use it, as there is no good road to the north of it, and *none* by which any great commissariat caravan or train of military chariots could have been taken. I know this region pretty intimately, and I think Sir Thomas will bear out my assertion as to the character of the country.

Sir Thomas in his lecture says: "It is quite clear that his general plan of action was to deal first with those independent tribes who might harry his line of advance, and to make no move into the plains of India until he had secured his communications with Kabul. He was consequently engaged in successive actions with the tribes to the north of what we know as the Khaibar route, and he followed a line of advance which has not yet been made use of in any recent campaigns." Now, as the General Commanding on the Frontier, I have often pondered on the spot on this problem, and the conclusion I came to was not exactly the same as that of the lecturer. A great Captain does not turn aside for secondary issues; the chastisement of the local tribes would have been such a secondary issue. My solution of the mystery is this: Alexander found his progress by the Khaibar barred by the Hindu army and the fortified position they had probably taken up in front of Landi Kotal; that is the natural and scientific line of defence. The ruins we call Kafir Kot may indeed mark some of those fortifications, and I can well imagine that, faced by a strong force in so impregnable a position, Alexander may well have hesitated to make a frontal attack. He had no artillery to shell those heights, and on the steep mountain-side the serried ranks of his incomparable infantry would have been of no avail against an active enemy. Landi Kotal was a veritable *darband* or shut door, and he recognized it; so leaving his main army and his trains in front of the famous pass, he turned aside with a picked force and sought a way of outflanking his enemy. He found that way through Bajaur and Chakdarra, and the enemy, thus finding their position in the Khaibar turned, and the terrible conqueror threatening their communications, in all probability abandoned the Khaibar in haste and fled to Attock, thus leaving open the great road for Alexander's main body. Where Aornos was we do not know, but I feel absolutely convinced that only stern necessity would have compelled Alexander to turn aside from the main line of advance into the tangled mass of mountains which lie between Jellalabad and the Peshawar Valley. Those of you who know the ground will, I think, appreciate my argument. If Sir Thomas can throw any further light on this problem, or on the identity of Aornos, I think it would interest many who will read his address.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the only point that struck me on reading the lecture, but there are many points in the lecture which are deserving of our study and of discussion, and I hope some of those present will improve the occasion by continuing the discussion on those points. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL: Ladies and gentlemen, there is one point which has been suggested to me by the lecture, on which I should like to make a comment; but before doing so I should like to express on behalf of the Association our cordial welcome to General Barrow, and if he will kindly not listen to what I am going to say, I think I might add that England, no less than India, is to be congratulated on having secured his great administrative experience and long military service in the distinguished post which he now holds in the Secretary of State's office. (Hear, hear.)

The point I wish to refer to is, I feel, so very small and humble after the interesting lecture we have heard, and after the Chairman's remarks, that I am rather inclined to sit down without saying it. It is in reference to the Phœnicians. The lecturer said that probably some three or four thousand years before Christ the Phœnicians found their way to the Mediterranean, and from there began their wanderings along the coast as far as Great Britain eventually, and then, he also says, made settlements possibly on the coast of Scandinavia. I remember a good many years ago the Duke of Argyll wrote a paper with regard to some of the names along the south coast, and he said that we had some traces of the Phœnicians in the names Baltic and Belt—that is to say, worship of Baal—and also in Start Point; and he maintained that this was nothing but the remains of the word "Astarte" or "Astoreth." We still hear of "bale" fires and of things "baleful." The Lecturer says there were settlements apparently in Scandinavia, and the idea that occurred to me is this: I found in the only book I could consult on the subject that the worship of the snake—which is almost universal throughout the world—by the Phœnicians was in the form of the snake with its tail in its mouth. That is not the usual Oriental way, but here in the West we have exactly the same form, conveying the notion of permanence or eternity, and, oddly enough, in the Scandinavian mythology they have the same idea. No doubt you may remember that in the old story of the Norse god or demigod, Thor, whom we invoke on *Thursday*, he went to a place which perhaps the children nowadays would have called "No Man's Land," or "Never Never Land," and there he was challenged to various feats of strength. He had three things given him to do: First, to drain a drinking-horn dry, which they said was a very easy thing to do; the second was to wrestle with an old woman; and the third was to lift a cat. He took a drain at the horn, and reduced the level of the liquor by an inch or two, but no more; he seized the old woman, but with all his godlike strength he could not throw her; he seized the cat, but only one forepaw could he lift off the ground. Thor had never been defeated before in deeds of strength, and he was about to depart in great depression when some of the folk said: "Do not be depressed; this has been a deception. The bottom of the horn was in the sea, but who can empty that, the bottomless?—you did make it ebb. The old woman was old age; who can wrestle with her and prevail? The cat was the Mitgard Snake, which, with tail in mouth, holds the world together, and if you had succeeded in lifting the cat off the ground, the world would have rushed to ruin." Thus

it may be possible the old Scandinavian idea of the world-serpent may have been implanted among the primitive people by the Phœnicians in their wanderings in the far-off days before the Christian era. (Hear, hear.)

DR. KAPADIA said he had not come prepared to speak, but he had listened with great pleasure and edification to the interesting account the Lecturer had given of the doings in ancient times of a race with which he himself as a Parsee could claim kindred. He had gleaned knowledge from the paper that he could not otherwise have obtained, and he felt very grateful to Sir Thomas for the lucid manner in which the story of the Exploitation of the Indian Borderlands had been traced, and he desired to say how thoroughly he had enjoyed listening to the reading of the paper.

No one else taking part in the discussion, the Chairman said he would call upon Mr. Coldstream to say a few words.

MR. COLDSTREAM said that he had been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and he thought he was voicing the feeling of the whole meeting in offering him their most grateful thanks. Sir Thomas Holdich, during the period of his active service, was a distinguished member of a distinguished service of the Crown, and had devoted the leisure of his subsequent years to the study of problems connected with the vast Indian Borderlands, its geography, its history, and its antiquities. He had not only been a great traveller who had seen the vast area of South-West Asia from Makrán to Balkh, and a diligent student and investigator in those far-off and recondite fields, but he had the high qualifications and the public spirit—and those two were not always combined—to express by literary and artistic skill the fruitful results of his studies. (Hear, hear.) In his work “The Gates of India,” and other works, they had a valuable store of information. The Society was to be congratulated on having secured such a lecture as they had listened to from so ripe a scholar, and so eloquent and practised a speaker as Sir Thomas. He had the greatest pleasure in offering to the Lecturer on behalf of the meeting the cordial thanks of the East India Association. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. OWEN DUNN said he had great pleasure in seconding the proposal put before them by Mr. Coldstream. The paper was an inspiring one, and one that excited the imagination, and, he was sure, had aroused the greatest interest in all present; he felt sure they would all look forward to reading it when it was published, and carefully study it. The remarks which had been added by the Chairman and Sir Arundel Arundel had also added to its interest. He thought they would all leave the meeting feeling they had learned a good deal, and spent a very enjoyable afternoon.

The LECTURER, in reply, said: I have very little further to say, except to thank Mr. Coldstream and his seconder for the kind words they have spoken, and to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the attentive way in which you have listened to what I should think must have been a somewhat uninteresting lecture. (Cries of No, no.) I am not going to enter into any argument on the subject of Alexander's campaign; I have done that once before, and it lasted a very long time. I have already quarrelled with one of my best friends about the identity of Aornos, and I should be sorry to begin again. I was interested to hear what Sir Arundel Arundel

told us of the legends in the Far North. I knew it as an historical fact that the Phœnicians traded to the Baltic for amber ; but whether they actually established colonies in Scandinavia is, I think, not quite satisfactorily proved ; but they probably did so. It is curious that one should be able to trace so long a sequence of exploitation by diving back a little into the ancient history of a country which, I take it, all of us in this room know so well. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

DR. POLLEN said that he would like to support the vote of thanks to Sir Thomas for his splendid paper. He agreed cordially with all he had written except one little point towards the end. He thought it was a great pity they could not all spread themselves over the various presidencies in India, so as to be in a better position to deliver judgment when necessary on the whole. He thought people ought to have a good experience of Bombay, for instance. (Laughter.) There was no presidency like it.

The one point on which he wished to dwell was the reference in the paper to the Lascars. He did not think the lecturer really meant to suggest they were not splendid sailors, and that they did not share some of the excellent qualities of his own countrymen in the north of Ireland—the fishermen of the coast. They had not been tested, perhaps, on warships ; but they were brave men nevertheless, and feared no storm, and always rose to the occasion. He understood what Sir Thomas meant—viz., that the spirit of a race is, after all, the controlling power that directs the destinies of a race. But, if he read history aright, there was a time at which the sailors of India held their own, and showed their spirit in contending with foes who were vastly superior, and he had heard there was a time when Indian navies swept the Southern seas even so far as remote New Zealand. The great thing was to preserve or revive the spirit of a race, and he recalled the lines—

“Vain mightiest fleets of iron framed !  
Vain those all-shattering guns !  
Unless proud England keep untamed  
The strong hearts of her sons.”

Indians, too, had strong hearts of their own, and he knew Indian sailors could hold their own with the very best. Officers of the Indian Marine spoke in the very highest terms of the splendid capacities of the Indian sailor, and his qualities were not inferior to those of the Indian soldier, as to which the Chairman [Sir Edmund Barrow] could testify from long experience.

SIR ROBERT FULTON said he wished to propose a vote of thanks also to the Chairman (applause), but apparently the Chairman did not wish him to do so. Without his permission, however, he thought they would all join with him in that vote of thanks. The Chairman might be a stranger to most of them, but he was not a stranger to those who had spent their lives in India. He had had a very distinguished military career, and, in fact, had made history in India. About the end of the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, General Barrow was selected to be the military member of the Council, as Lord Curzon considered him the most appropriate officer to occupy that post. Lord Kitchener, however, thought he was too strong a man, and would not agree to his appointment. Therefore the matter

was referred home, and the then Secretary of State for India said the services of General Barrow could not be spared, because if there was any outbreak of hostilities in India he would select General Barrow to lead the forces. (Hear, hear.) He well remembered, when in Calcutta, seeing General Barrow start as Second in Command of the expedition to China at the time of the Boxer trouble. Sir Alfred Gaselee was the Commander-in-Chief. The European powers had sent out forces to assist in quelling the rebellion; there were French, Germans, Russians, Americans, and Indian and Japanese troops. He would now like to reveal to them a secret page of the history of that campaign. (Hear, hear.) Of course they would hear nothing of it from the gentlemen on that side of the table, because their mouths were sealed; but he held no official position, and therefore was irresponsible. It got about at Tientsin that some of the allies did not want to go on and attack Peking, and there was a Council of War held to consider the matter. The night before the Council of War was held, Sir Alfred Gaselee and General Barrow were discussing their plans, when the Japanese General came and asked what they were going to do if the others would not advance. They said: "We shall go on by ourselves." (Hear, hear.) The Japanese General said: "Then I will come too." The next day the Council of War took place, and some of the allies suggested that it might be dangerous to attack Peking, but the British officers said they would go alone, and the Japanese and the Americans said they would go with them. On that the others all declared they would go. They appointed a time for the starting of the expedition—but the Russians started three hours before the appointed time, so as to get the start of the rest of the party! The others waited for the appointed time. In the result, when the Chinese saw the Russians coming, they went out and attacked them; there was a good fight, and a good number of casualties. The British attacked from a flank, but there was no one there, the Chinese having gone out to fight the Russians; so that the British troops got into the British Legation safe and sound, whilst the Russians and Japanese were fighting in front. There were practically no casualties in the British force, and the only unfortunate incident was that there were some drains into which some of the troops fell. They therefore arrived somewhat dirty and "smelly." (Loud laughter.)

In conclusion, he wished to say they were all very much indebted to General Barrow for his excellent address, and he was sure all would join with him in cordially thanking him. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR LESLEY PROBYN briefly seconded, and the Chairman returned thanks. The proceedings then terminated.

## THE ARMENIAN UNITED ASSOCIATION OF LONDON

THE Conversazione of this Association was held at the Élysée Hall, Queen's Road, W., on Sunday last. The proceedings were opened by an address from Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Gregory, V.D., the President, who dealt with political and social events affecting Armenians, and voiced the wish of all that the recent Agreement with the Sublime Porte as to the reforms to be introduced into the Armenian vilayets would be loyally carried out and prove efficacious.

A programme of vocal and instrumental music followed, and was brought to a conclusion with addresses in English and Armenian by Mr. H. Garabedian and the Rev. Karoome Ablahatian. The former, having graduated in America and obtained his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, is now on his way to Etchmiadzin, the cathedral city of the Armenian Church, to be ordained, and so to devote his life to the welfare of the nation. He conveyed the greetings of the Armenian colony in America, spoke of the progress and needs of Armenians, and urged the fostering of all educational efforts. The latter, who had, for the past forty years, lived and travelled in Kurdistan and Armenia, pointed out the requirements of the inhabitants, and also explained the direction from which help should come, especially from irrigation schemes, which were needed to obviate the sufferings entailed by drought.

## SUPPLEMENT

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### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

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1. THE MESSAGE OF ZOROASTER. By Ardaser Sorabjee N. Wadia.  
(*Dent and Sons.*)

From the very first page of Mr. Wadia's remarkable volume it is plainly evident that he is a firm believer in the Persian proverb that "It is better to aim at the moon and strike the tree-tops, than to aim at the trees and strike the earth," for the majority of his thought-arrows are well winged for a high target, and few fail to hit at least the Outer White.

The book is important, inasmuch as it serves the dual purpose of an earnestly religious textbook for Parsee perusers, and a scholarly collection of philosophical theories concerning the ancient faith of Iran, which every Western student will welcome ; and the critics our author openly despises will yet pardon the occasional digressions on rather irrelevant subjects for which he somewhat scornfully apologizes in his preface ; and also overlook a sometimes jejune turn of phrase in consideration of his genuine erudition and undoubted literary power.

The first of the book's three sections, "Why do we hold Fire Sacred?" is perhaps the most important to Parsee thought, since it is a stirring call to those fainter-souled devotees who of late neglect the Prophet's first injunction to "Contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind."

Mr. Wadia, indeed, fearlessly avows himself one of the Old School—a fire-worshipper in the most literal sense of the term, in opposition to the merely symbolical belief of later Avestaic authorities ; and explains his reason with strength and conviction, citing both ancient scriptures and modern science to prove his case.

Western readers will find its latter pages, on the "Analysis of Light," of extreme interest, and also his ideals of the world-old Mysteries of Mithra.

Secondly, "The Philosophy of Zoroaster" contains chiefly an able exposition of the principles of polarity in nature, art, and music, illustrated by some exceedingly picturesque descriptive writings, and some thoughtful passages upon the uses of Evil in the Divine scheme of harmony according to Mazdayasnian ideals.

Thirdly come the "Ethics of Zoroaster," which has for its text the Master's own words, "To tell the truth and to aim straight is the first Persian virtue."

Thereon Mr. Wadia discourses most interestingly, taking for his headings the respective commands of Shree Kreeshna, "Get Wisdom," Buddha's "Forsake Desire," Christ's "Have Charity," Muhammad's "Seek God," and Zoroaster's "Make Thyself Pure."

It is a homily which will hold the Western reader's close attention, particularly the novel treatment of the three Drukhshi of Impurity, Covetousness, and Sloth, whose vivid originality very forcibly grips the imagination.

Still, we fancy that the sentiments of pp. 181, 182 will not meet with entire approval among the fair readers of modern education in Bombay!

Yet even though Mr. Wadia avers "that the book's first aim was to extricate himself and others from the gloom of irreligion which gathers only too plainly around us," his is a cheerful and inspiring view of futurity, for he backs his optimism with a formidable and cosmopolitan row of sages and philosophers of all climes, from Plato and the Psalmist, to Ruskin, Chunder Dutt, and Madame Blavatsky, while Pharisees and dogmatists get short shrift and sharp digs from his pen.

On the whole, Eastern theologists will certainly concur in pronouncing the latest interpretation of the message a very able one. For the less expert Western reader's convenience, however, a slight biographical notice of the Sage or Iran might have been given.

In a future edition it could easily be added to the two well-arranged appendices.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

2. THE FAITH OF ANCIENT EGYPT. By Sydney G. P. Coryn. (*The Theosophical Publishing Company.*)

If the hint of the publishers, on the last page of this elegantly got up little monograph, to "read others of our interesting books and send for our descriptive catalogue," indicates that its primary *raison d'être* was the making of an attractive light sample of more weighty goods, it may be surely held to have achieved its aim; but considered as a serious attempt to deal with a very deep subject it has many gaps. They are gaps which irritate the more, since the author shows a thorough insight into his theme and a genuine gift for alluring narrative.

Armed with a most modern lamp of Theosophy, he proceeds to flash it into several of the darkest corners of the old Egyptian temples, and so shows us not a few quite enthrallingly interesting scientific facts which the ordinary student of hieroglyphs is apt to overlook, such as the latest explanatory reading of the records concerning the great Zodiac of Denderah, its bearing upon occult chronology, and its comparative value with the Schemhamphorasch, the Kabbalah, and modern Hindu reckoning.

There is a particularly fascinating chapter upon the cycles and the Gods of the Cycles, and another on the inward meaning of the highest priests' initiation and powers; while the wanderings of the soul from the Book of the Dead and the symbolical meanings of certain rites and objects are very clearly described.

But when we come to such absorbing matters as the Promise of the



Zodiac and proofs of Eternal Memory, the scanty paragraphs are distinctly annoying, and our annoyance is the keener, since tucked in the cover-pocket are two excellent supplementary charts of the famous Zodiac and Temple Front, skilfully reconstructed to show every detail of its inscriptions; while the whole book is equally well illustrated with such artistic drawings as revive one's longings to behold again the originals in Thebes, Esneh, and luckless Philæ.

Still, despite its lapses, it is a dainty picture-booklet to set on the end of the shelf holding one's Flinders Petries and Garstangs.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

3. AU YUNNAN, ET DANS LE MASSIF DU KIN-HO. Par le Dr. A. F. Legendre. (*Librairie Plon*.) Price 3 francs.

The two salient points of Dr. Legendre's interesting new volume of his latest explorations in the Flowery Kingdom are, firstly, his thoroughness in his scientific observations and high personal courage; and, secondly, the penny-wise folly of the French Government in supplying so small a European escort for so important a mission in such perilous regions.

The wonder is that the Doctor and his two brave companions—MM. Dessirier and Noiret—ever reached civilization alive, or that they saved any of their notes or specimens from the attack made upon them by the Chinese revolutionaries.

The first part of their expedition in 1910 was their march through Yunnan; the next the exploration of the Yalong Basin and the Kin-Ho, or Golden River; and the last stage was the passing through another portion of this Basin, ending with the tale of their dangerous siege and capture by the rebels.

Dr. Legendre concurs strongly with all experts on the Yellow Question of to-day in the conviction that the present Chinese Government is a case of "new presbyter is but old priest writ large," and (for the destruction of the Imperial prestige has not allayed the venality of the intriguing Court factions) that European intervention and aid are the country's only hope of salvation in the future.

He has a facile pen, our brave Doctor, and if his pictures have not the warm colouring of Loti, the weird and often barren lands and sordid natives of his adventures are at least faithfully portrayed.

He liked best the basin of the Yalong, a marvellous region of the Thibetan Marches, where great furry yaks cropped the short grass, and huge mastiffs barked by brown hair tents, and in the springtide the lower scrub was luxuriant as Elfland, while in the higher districts the grand oaks and pines towered high above the flamy glory of rhododendrons, outlined against the eternal grey of distant moraines.

Such scenery contrasts rather sharply with some of the revolting habits of the people, which he describes quite candidly. Despite the loss of so many precious papers and geographical notes, the rebels could not seize our author's good memory or tireless patience, and he has reconstructed nearly the whole of the more important data relatively of use to French commerce and ethnography.

And apart from this practical success, we can assure him, with a cordial handshake, that whatever tame feet follow his tracks in those dread wilds hereafter, he has indeed the first joy of Kipling's immortal Explorer in the Never-Never Country, and no congratulations can sound sweeter than the

" . . . mile-wide mutterings of unimagined rivers."

And no sight is fairer than

"And beyond the nameless timber the illimitable plains. . . ."

FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

4. THE PROVINCIAL GEOGRAPHIES OF INDIA: THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY WITH MYSORE, COORG, AND THE ASSOCIATED STATES. By E. Thurston, C.I.E. (*The Cambridge University Press.*) Price 3s. net.

Here we have the first of what promises to be a really fascinating series of textbooks, and (as is fitting) it deals with the senior Presidency and its neighbours.

We entirely agree with Sir Thomas Holland, the editor, who states in his neat little preface "that everyone who knows Madras will recognize the pre-eminent fitness of Mr. Edgar Thurston to give a true picture of South India, for as Superintendent of the Madras Museum and the Ethnographic Survey, he sampled every form of human and natural interest in the districts." Not only this, but the author has a vastly pretty gift for story-telling, and where he has scope—say, in the chapters on history, religions, and industrial arts—he embroiders his many fresh and useful facts with quite enthrallingly romantic detail-threads.

He has, moreover, enlisted the services of Mr. Havell, the well-known writer upon Indian Art, for the chapter on Architecture, and Mr. Romilly for the Planter's Information, while a hundred excellent photographs, maps, and portraits, illustrate their descriptions.

Yet while the artistic side has been so well looked to, the practical is no less ably planned out, and the mass of concise and accurate information upon boundaries, seaports, maritime trade, agriculture, canals, and minerals, is of high value.

It is quite pathetic on opening such a geography as this to recall the dry, tedious tomes of last generation's youth, and it will be a lucky school whose principal now subscribes for the whole series, if the first is to be judged as a specimen of the rest.

There is a particularly good account of the Todas—those strange pastoral folk of the Nilgiris—and a roll of honour worth remembering, while no young soldier or civilian on his way Eastwards can afford to neglect the admirable chapter of advice on Climate, nor the indexed list of useful books at the end.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

5. OUR TASK IN INDIA. By Bernard Lucas. (*Macmillan and Co.* 1914.) Price 2s. 6d.

The author makes a distinction without much difference between proselytism and evangelism, by depreciating the act of a proselytizer and

glorifying the act of an evangelist. If taken in its natural derived sense proselytism is as free of offence as the word evangelist itself. The author is conscious of the unreality of the bogey he has called up both in his preface, p. vi, and in his first chapter, pp. 5, 16, 20, where the struggle to make a difference is severe. In the chapters that follow he feels the insecurity of the foundation on which he is building. He acknowledges the difficulty on p. 39, and gives away his whole argument when he admits that "the soul of India can only be touched through the souls of individual Hindus."

Incidentally he dates modern missionary enterprise in India from the time of William Carey, as if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had had no existence before that period, and had not by means of its missionaries (some of whom like Schwartz, Fabricius, and Gericke were eminent) co-operated with God for the salvation of a portion of the Hindu world. It is not easy to understand what he means by the word Church; but he evidently excludes the Churches of Rome, Syria, and England, and their work in India in the centuries before the time of Carey.

The author is quite mistaken in saying that Christian missionary effort has had no effect upon Aryan India, that is upon the caste people of the country. The lives of Bishops Middleton, Heber, and Wilson are open to all of us; and English readers have found the chapters concerning their contentions with the caste Christians in the south of India among the most interesting of all. Before the conclusion was arrived at that caste as a social system was inseparable from caste as a religious system, Aryan India was more generally affected by the teachings of Christianity than it has been since.

For his own purposes the writer contrasts the method of evangelism, which he says is the new way of teaching Christianity, with the method of dogmatic theological expression, which he says was that adopted by the older missionaries. He compares the actual answer of our Lord to the young ruler with what He might have said if He had been speaking the language of orthodoxy and proselytism, that is the language of the older missionaries; and he fills sixteen pages to show the superiority of the reply Christ adopted over that which He did not adopt. Such setting up of bogeys in order to knock them down again is futile.

The author says many sensible things which are not new, in the chapter on Men and Methods. He also suggests some novel missionary methods which no experienced missionaries are likely to adopt. There is a certain amount of cleverness in the way he picks holes in the infant Indian Church and presents his case; but the cleverness will not advance the cause of Christ, which is presumably his intention. He thinks that all the deficiencies will be corrected if the missionaries cease to proselytize and begin to evangelize; and so he gets back to the original difficulty he stumbled over at the beginning. There is no such person as a missionary who exalts dogmas and formulæ above the quickening of spiritual life in the soul. Dogmas and formulæ are only the boundary hedges of the Kingdom of God to protect the soul from trespassing into dangerous places.

The author frankly recognizes that the missionaries of the Church

evinced brotherliness towards those of other Christian communions. But his reservations do not make for further brotherly advances on their part. It would be better to accept the advances and to strive for unity—not uniformity but unity—than to prevent any further advance by accentuating possible dangers.

This may be done by co-operation in essentials, of which there are two: (1) *the simple gospel*, which is best guarded by the creed; and (2) a *common ministerial organization* which is best maintained by the historic episcopate in synod. There must be diversities in practice; within the limits of the simple gospel let them be. All other questions, including that of Christian literature and variations in the mode of expressing Christian doctrines, will settle themselves or will be settled in synod, in course of time.—F.P.

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6. REFLECTIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF INDIA. By A. S. Wadia.  
(*J. M. Dent and Sons.*)

Mr. Wadia has sent us a very daintily bound little volume, more suggestive from its outward appearance of lyrics and rondels than aught else. The subjects which he has dealt with are, however, of a far more serious character. Out of the many problems that beset India, he has selected four, namely, Elementary Education, of which he disapproves; The Caste System, which he upholds; and Industrial Development in India, which he deprecates as bad for the country. As regards the last point, The Political Future of India, his views are neither in accordance with those of the Congress ideals, nor of the Nationalist party. He thinks that there ought to be formed a new party of a carefully-chosen select few, under the designation—somewhat self-contradictory—of the “Independent Pro-British Party,” whose aim should be to maintain, at one and the same time, the permanence of British rule in India, and the independence, when practical, of all Indians.

Mr. Wadia quotes largely from various well-known writers, especially Nietzsche and Carlyle, to support his views, and is evidently a staunch follower of the former.

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7. ANNALS AND MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PEKIN. By E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland. (*Heinemann.*) Price 16s.

Readers who demand nicely varnished and conventional pictures of the Flowery Empire, and have a sentimental belief in the efficacy of gentle Western methods of conversion from barbarous customs upon the wily Chinese, will surely find Messrs. Backhouse and Bland's able chronicle much too strong meat.

They fearlessly show us the country's condition in the bad old days, and also how little it has changed to-day, for the bloody records of the late Empress, the “Old Buddha's” Borgia-like intrigues, scarcely differ from those of the early Ming and Manchu doings.

One of our most pompous contemporary journals finds fault with their plain naming of spades, but we must in common sense agree with them that the reader will best appreciate their story who, “clearing his mind

of conventions and cant, endeavours to understand the fundamental differences between the moralities of East and West, and to weigh their results without prejudice or passion."

They have thus given us a really monumental effort of patient research, and careful compilation of the Ming dynasty from 1368, through the successive Manchu Empire to the present day; and they enliven their saga with some of the most vivid sketches of love and war it has ever been our lot to review.

We get a wonderfully good analysis and insight into the Chinese character and its terrible combinations, which is vividly illustrated, particularly in such fearful contrasts as that between the poetic imagery which could christen the "Palace of Motherly Felicity" and the "Pavilion of Charity made Manifest," and the gruesome fiendishness of the murders between their walls, though a few good and brave souls, like the General Shih K'o-fa and the Lady Precious Pearl, shine through the mists of terror and death.

The book's plan is rather a series of scenes than a continuous narrative, yet only a student who knows the myriads of events and personages concerned in the complicated tangle of Chinese history can realize the author's difficulties, and sympathetically congratulate them on having achieved a much more concise chronicle than such materials promised, and one which ought to prove most useful to all interested in Far Eastern affairs.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

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8. THE ISLAND DEPENDENCIES OF JAPAN. By Charlotte M. Salwey. (London: *Eugène L. Morice*.)

This book is in a way designed to be a memorial to the late Emperor Meyji Temio of Japan. It commences with a short appreciation, touching on many events which occurred in his reign, special reference being made to the outlying islands that depend from, and have passed into the definite possession of, Japan. The mission of the book is to show what keen activity has been organized in these beautiful islands, each of which offers some unique attraction of its own.

Working upwards—after Japanese fashion—Formosa claims first attention. The camphor trade is a serious undertaking, and it is time that those who use this valuable substance in trade or medicine should be aware of the difficulties attending its possession. "The danger zone" into which the workers are obliged to force their way leads to the loss of many valuable lives, for the head-hunters and the workers carry on a ceaseless warfare, contending inch by inch the territory wherein the camphor-trees abound.

The account of the *Aiyu Sen* or Guard line, instituted for centuries by the former rulers of Formosa, now ably organized by the Japanese, is, together with various items of interest connected with Formosa, graphically described by the author through the co-operation of those who have recently travelled into the interior of the island, or have sojourned with the tribes since the Japanese occupation of Taiwan.

The attractions of the Loo Choo Islands or *Okinawa*, a name preferred by the natives, have received full attention, particularly the former royal residence of Shuri Castle, a triumph of masonic skill and architectural solidity. The speciality of these islands is red lacquer work, also hempen material, and they are celebrated for their beautiful trees, shells, and butterflies. We may also mention the Kuriles, the haunt of the fur-bearing mammals, an account of their advent at certain times of year, the sojourn of the seals and other species, their ultimate capture, slaughter, and market value, which will perhaps make clear that it is at the risk of many lives and much danger (in order to meet the demands of fashion for valuable furs) that these trades are prosecuted.

Karafuto, the northernmost possession, reclaimed since 1905, is, notwithstanding the severity of its climate, becoming a colony of great promise and keen activity. Schools, lighthouses, railroads, and means of communication, are being established, which will in time dispel the terrors of isolation. Many from the mainland are seeking this extreme point of Japan's territory as an abiding-place and homeland.

Minor details are touched upon. The book is suitably produced and beautifully printed. It should prove pleasant, instructive, and reliable reading alike for Japanese and English students. It is supplied with special maps, and delicate pencil-work illustrations by Jasper Salwey.

### SOME BOOKS ON SOUTH AFRICA

9. THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE. By V. R. Markham. (*Smith, Elder and Co.*) Price 7s. 6d. net.

The above is an extremely able exposition by an able and recognized authority of affairs in South Africa. Although we feel that recent events must needs modify some of her conclusions, it is an adequate survey of the problems of the South African Government until a year ago. The menace of Herzogism and the ascendancy of the Boer-Jingoes is no longer what it was, not because the spirit of reconciliation is stronger, but owing to the combined influence of the labour troubles and the increase in the black population. Dutch and English must now stand shoulder to shoulder if their cause of civilized government and the predominance of the white population is to triumph. The author could, naturally, not foresee this development, or, rather, the rapidity with which this development was brought about. The chapter on "The Asiatic Difficulty" should interest particularly our Indian readers. The lines of compromise she suggests are fair treatment for the Asiatics already in the country, and, on the Indian side, an undertaking, tacit or otherwise, that there should be no further influx of Indian immigration beyond the handful of educated men who are required annually to make good any social shrinkage among the Asiatic community. This is, of course, rotten even as a compromise. Indians are British subjects, and as such have the right to be domiciled in British possessions. And if they are better workers than others, it remains for those others to improve.

10. *THE MOUNTED POLICE OF NATAL.* By H. P. Holt. (*John Murray.*)  
Price 10s. 6d. net.

This volume is prefaced by a short note on the very early days of the Natal Mounted Police, by Major-General Sir J. G. Dartnell, K.C.B., the founder of the corps. Much of their early success seems to have been due to the rigour of "a first-rate sergeant-major who threatened 'By God, I'll cut your — head off!' when a recruit failed to keep his horse in the ranks." We are to believe that this early training made the Mounted Police of Natal what it was. A monument has been erected to commemorate their services in the Boer War, and ten members of the corps subsequently came to England for the coronation of King Edward VII. It is a brightly-written work, and gives a very good idea of the kind of life led by troopers in these South African Horse.

11. *CECIL RHODES.* By Gordon Le Sueur, F.R.G.S. (*John Murray.*)

In the preface the author states that his object was to present Rhodes as a human document. With that modest purpose he has given to us the most interesting and the most informative volume on the great statesman that we have so far seen. The perusal of it is as inspiring as Levy's "Napoléon Intime"; we feel all through that we are reading about the daily life and the actions of a great man; it is therefore the best of all literature to put in the hands of the young. That even Rhodes found his match occasionally is shown in his relations with "Jack" Grimmer, his one-time private secretary. "To see them together, one might have come to the conclusion that Rhodes was in charge of a keeper: Grimmer was anything but an ordinary secretary. His method of dealing with letters was characteristic:

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your application, Mr. Rhodes says no.—Yours faithfully, JOHN R. GRIMMER.

Very little space is devoted to his scholarship and will, and Mr. Le Sueur might with advantage have added a chapter on Rhodes's maxims.

## THE NEAR EAST.

12. *THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1801-1913.* By William Miller, M.A. (Oxon.)  
(*Cambridge University Press.*)

After the stirring events of the last two years in South-Eastern Europe, the subject of the present volume is invested with an especial interest, and should serve as an excellent textbook for those who will in future essay the task of giving to the world the history of that war. Its particular value lies in the fact that it is based upon original documents, and represents the fruit of many years' study of the Eastern Question. The second chapter deals with the first Napoleon's relations with the Turks, and points out that the great Corsican never developed his ambitions in that direction farther than "the paper partition at Tilgit." The War of Greek Independence has been so well described by Mr. Aligon Philips

that Mr. Miller has really very little to add, but the later chapters deserve warm commendation. The Epilogue is devoted to the new Balkan War. The author remarks "that the final liquidation of the Ottoman dominions in Europe has not been yet completed; but, after the events of the last few months, it is obvious that Turkey has ceased, for all practical purposes, to be an European State." That judgment we venture to characterize as a little hasty.

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13. LETTERS FROM GREECE. By John Mavrogordato. (*Martin Secker.*)  
Price 2s. net.

These letters were written on the spot at a time when "the London Press had lost all interest in the war . . . being chiefly concerned, as far as I remember, with a Murder in a Taxi, a Tragedy in a West End Flat, and a Blind Earl in an Omnibus." Nor do the letters disappoint this welcome sally in the preface. The most amusing portion is that entitled "Among the Bulgarians." He explains the almost child-like psychology of their soldiers. "All the conquered territory being regarded as Bulgaria, any Bulgarian took anything he could." This was followed by a wholesale depopulation, especially in the triangle Doiran, Strumnitza, Serres, where it is not easy to find a single Mussulman peasant. Mr. Mavrogordato adds: "This ultra-Malthusian manner of adjusting demand to supply seems to be popular in the Bulgarian army." He also includes a letter headed "Bulgarvinism" to the editor of the *Observer*, in which he protests against the latter's "Turkey must trot," coupled with "England must not get unpopular with Turkey" policy, and accuses him of ignoring Bulgaria's treacherous aggression. The author undoubtedly hits hard and straight for Greece.

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14. THE GOLDEN BOUGH. By J. G. Frazer. Third Edition. Part VI.:  
The Scapegoat. (London: *Macmillan and Co.* 1913.)

In his preface, the author sums up concisely the theory and practice of the dying god, brought with *The Scapegoat* to a conclusion. The dying god is considered as a scapegoat to free his worshippers from the troubles of all sorts with which life on earth is beset.

The idea of the scapegoat resolves itself into a simple confusion between the material and the immaterial, between the real possibility of transferring a physical load to other shoulders and the supposed possibility of transferring our bodily and mental ailments to another who will bear them for us.

The chief illustration of the theory of the dying god as a scapegoat is found by the author in the religious ritual of the Aztecs. In truth, that illustration is not very adequate. The author must justify his comparison. "If we ask why a dying god should be chosen to take upon himself and carry away the sins and sorrows of the people, it may be suggested that in the practice of using the divinity as a scapegoat we have a combination of two customs which were at one time distinct and independent. On the one hand, we have seen that it has been customary to kill the human or animal god in order to save his divine life from being weakened by the



inroads of age. On the other hand, we have seen that it has been customary to have a general expulsion of evils and sins once a year. Now, if it occurred to people to combine these two customs, the result would be the employment of the dying god as a scapegoat. He was killed not originally to take away sin but to save the divine life from the degeneracy of old age; but, since he had to be killed at any rate, people may have thought that they might well seize the opportunity to lay upon him the burden of their sufferings and sins, in order that he might bear it away with him to the unknown world beyond the grave (p. 227).

The chapter (vii) on "Killing the God in Mexico" is the most interesting in the volume.

In a note, the author studies the crucifixion of Christ, in relation with similar facts of other religions. But he points out explicitly that his theory assumes the historical reality of Jesus of Nazareth.

DR. EDOUARD MONTET.

"The Life of 'Richard Corfield of Somaliland," by Mr. Prevost-Battersby, is due from Mr. Arnold, and is largely based on the officer's correspondence home during his crowded years of service. "Mr. Wyatt Tilby, South Africa, 1486-1913," completes the author's series on "The English People Overseas," and is published by Constable. Mr. Maurice Baring, who is also one of the editors of the *Russian Review*, has a new book coming out next month with Messrs. Nelson entitled "The Main-springs of Russia."

Among the novels now due are "The End of Her Honeymoon," by Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, and "Fireman Hot," by Mr. Cutcliff Hyne, also "Unto Cæsar," by the Baroness Orczy, and "Jill-all-Alone," by Rita.

Messrs. Spottiswoode have brought out a new book entitled "The Code of Mohammedan Personal Law," which is designed to be of use to British Magistrates in the Sudan.

Among new travel books are, "A Woman in the Antipodes and in the Far East," by Mary Hall, F.R.G.S., and "Through the South Seas with Jack London," by Martin Johnson.

The death of Sir John Tenniel, the famous *Punch* cartoonist, will come as a great shock to his many friends, and we understand that a special supplement will be issued, commemorating his great art and his sweet and simple nature, written by some of his colleagues on the staff of *Punch*, including a number of his contemporaries.

A new monthly publication is in preparation, entitled *The Britannic Review*, intended, it is said, to reflect the ideals, aims, and interests of that Empire movement which points to a closer and more permanent union of His Majesty's peoples. It will have no politics in the party sense, for, as it says, the party system is too often the enemy of national interests.

## THE DRAMA

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### TOLSTOY IN LONDON

STEVENSON wrote in one of his essays of the shock to self-importance inflicted upon the busy people of this world by the sudden discovery that others had attained to fame by more passive, less sensational and, strangely enough, quieter methods. Where was the glory of having taken Rome, he remarks, for those tumultuous barbarians who poured into the Senate and found the Fathers sitting there unmoved and indifferent? Something of the same kind of feeling came over us as we watched the performance of "Anna Karenina," at the Ambassadors Theatre the other evening. Not that we would suggest that Anna, as played by Madame Lydia Yavorska, is an instance of the arresting and fame-usurping capacity of a wise passivity. But there was something between her acting and the acting of the other actors akin to the contrast between the Dionysiac barbarians and the Apolline Fathers, something which made us quite indifferent to the zealous efforts of the other actors and supremely sensitive to her art.

No doubt the others were at a disadvantage. They had to personate individuals, the full scope of whose individualities were compressed into much smaller limits of expression than those given them in the novel, and moreover limits only outlined at the points at which they touched upon the central story. But for all that it seemed to us that they might have accepted this dramatic subordination more gracefully, thereby giving less of the impression that they did give of the forces of worldliness banded together against the unhappy Anna. Actually, of course, there was no such conspiracy, the genial Oblonsky's championship of his sister being but one instance to the contrary, but owing, as we have remarked, to a certain level of declamatory vehemence marking all the acting except Madame Yavorska's, we were nearly misled into fancying that the motives of the other characters were as militant as their manners.

Against this militancy Madame Yavorska's Anna stood out with a fine restraint and dignity, never once tainted by the theatricality of her companions. We could have wished her a more inspiring lover than Mr. Ambrose Flower, but he certainly presented a romantic contrast to her. original (or we might say aboriginal) husband.

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### SAVOY DAY-DREAMS.

Dreams, even Midsummer Night Dreams, must, we suppose, reflect the spirit of the day, else they would confound us with their anachronisms, and

we might never waken from them, never come back from the far-away hills to the plains of every day. Moreover, the nights are not long enough for twentieth-century mortals to sink into those deep slumber-lands where the old-fashioned fairies live. We must be content to snatch at feverish dozings wherein the overburdened consciousness meets but the phantasms of things it has just fled from, phantasms clad in the hemp and homespun of the latest Impressionist fashion. Mr. Barker's production of "Midsummer Night's Dream" is very beautiful, but it is too schematic, too close to wakeful, conscious art, to persuade us that Puck has ever touched *his* eyes with fairy herb. This is not the real fairyland. These are not "such sights as youthful poets dream, on summer eve by haunted stream." These are the intelligent day-dreams of the Savoy. Mr. Barker and Mr. Norman Wilkinson are their parents and original. Puck, too, was undoubtedly their offspring, yet for all that ultra-modern ideals of the fantastic seemed to reach their fullest expression in him, there was a quality of real fairyishness and of the friar's lanthorn about Mr. Calthrop's Puck. Physically, Mr. Calthrop is a born Puck, his very voice is anticsome. He *could* have sat on a toadstool; the other fairies would have creased their armour, to say nothing of their dignity, had they tried.

These Gummidge-like reflections must not be taken as careless of the beauty and harmony of the Savoy production. The actors in almost every case were unswervingly true to very individual conceptions of their respective parts. Only those conceptions kept us still earthbound, unenchanted. We were lonely for the pert fairies and dapper elves. They come not near a London Strand.—I. COOPER WILLIS.

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#### "THE MARRIAGE OF KITTY."

"The Marriage of Kitty," at the Playhouse, judging by the enthusiastic reception it received on the first night, is likely to prove a great success. And there is no denying the fact revivals seem to thrive best at the present moment in London. The theatre list shows a quite disproportionate number of them. Such well-known old favourites as "Diplomacy," "The Darling of the Gods," "Kismet," "The Tyranny of Tears," serve to swell the list which seems to point to the fact that the work of the modern dramatist is not preferred to a *réchauffé* of older talent. There can be no doubt that the acting of Miss Marie Tempest has very much to do with the initial and immediate success of the play above mentioned. Kitty comes to the office of her rich relation, a solicitor, with the information that not only were her worldly possessions confined to a very few pounds, but that she actually kept all that treasure in her handbag. A brief *résumé* of the employments open to women did not prove attractive to her, so her rich relation must needs find her a husband. This he undertakes to do, and ushers her into an adjoining room. Her future husband comes along, dragging with him his accepted bride. There was a ludicrous will, and though of course they would marry even without the fortune, they would of course marry only with the fortune. The *pis aller* is furnished by Kitty,

who offers her services as his wife to get over the difficulties of the will. Naturally they must not meet after the church service, and naturally they do, a year later, and all ends well, even for the bride, who settles down to a well-earned spinsterhood.

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#### "THE TYRANNY OF TEARS."

"The Tyranny of Tears," at the Comedy Theatre, was a refreshing comedy in the old style, dealing with the then new problem of lady secretaries living in the houses of newly-married couples. But if the problem was out of date, the acting and staging gave a distinctly modern appearance. The typist, who was the thirteenth daughter of a penniless clergyman, seemed to have abundant funds for particularly new dresses. In fact, she outdressed the fashionable wife completely, but we cannot add that Miss Evelyn D'Alroy out-acted her. Our sympathies were not really with her for a moment, and she seemed to us at the same time dull and dangerous. Mr. Robert Lorraine talked at a great pace as the successful novelist, and Mr. Kerr as the confirmed bachelor was excellent. Miss Ethel Irving wept whole-heartedly and well, but the reconciliation between husband and wife did not give the impression of lasting for ever.

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#### "THE DARLING OF THE GODS."

"The Darling of the Gods" gives a good picture of the noble struggle of the last of the Samurai of Japan against the invasion of modern ideas. But their extermination was not conducted according to modern methods, and torture chambers exhaling red vapours formed part of the paraphernalia employed for that end. The staging was of course only what was to be expected from a production at His Majesty's Theatre, it was superb, and we venture to add that the last scene in which the Samurai chieftain meets his beloved in the next world was one of the finest scenic effects we have ever had the privilege of seeing. The Japanese on the stage proved, contrary to expectation, veritable giants, and especially Sir Herbert Tree, whose stature was accentuated by the dwarf who always accompanied him. He seemed more like a Cyclops than a son of Asia. Miss Marie Löhr acted very sympathetically and, in common with the other women in the caste, looked thoroughly Japanese. It was an impressive spectacle, and, as the prospectus given with the programme led us to expect, a mixture of many kinds of plays.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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### "THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEUDATORY STATES OF INDIA"

DEAR SIR,

I have not so much information as to many of the "nascent industries of India" as would justify me in attempting to follow Sir Roper Lethbridge in his disquisition on the "strangling" of them, and will only just say in passing that those I know best are so far from being "strangled" that they seldom pay less than 25 per cent.; but I must ask for a little space to repeat what I have said more than once about "sugar," and to add a few remarks and figures for Sir Roper's consideration.

I would point out in the first place that there has been no great increase in the import of sugar during the last four years, and that the local product is, of course, already "protected" by the regular import duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, in addition to counteracting duties on any bounty-fed sugar. Secondly, that the Indian sugar industry was *not* "nearly ruined" (as Sir Roper says) is plain from the fact that though the area under sugar-cane has fluctuated considerably during the last ten years from 2,408,212 acres in 1908-9 to 2,876,965 acres in the previous year (if this figure is correct,\*) yet it has risen steadily since the former year (1908-9) to 2,569,770 acres in 1911-12. Curiously enough, and as if to confound Sir Roper more completely, the yield of cane sugar attained its maximum in the same year (1911-12). And this of course is only cane sugar. There is also a vast and apparently unknown quantity of palm sugar,† so that

\* One cannot but suspect some error in the acreage for 1907-8, because the yield of sugar in that year showed a distinct falling off as compared with the previous year and the last three years.

† According to the returns ("Statistical Abstract," p. 132) Madras has nearly as many acres under palm as under cane sugar, whilst in the rest of India palm sugar occupies scarce one-fortieth of that under cane; and, as far as I can see, no attempt is made even to estimate the amount of palm sugar. It certainly must be considerable; and with improved cultivation and improved processes of manufacture there is no reason why India should not be a large exporter again. It is a great opportunity for the agricultural department. They have only to raise the standard to that of Java, and they will double the produce in India from the same area. Then, of course, it is quite possible the consumption per head may be doubled also. There is still scope for greatly increased consumption before the rate reaches that of Great Britain.

India probably still produces nearly half the sugar of the world ; but as she also consumes more sugar *per head* than any "Protectionist" country in Europe (see p. 101 of "Truths about India," referred to in such complimentary language by Sir Roper on p. 152), she does not produce enough for her own consumption. Sir Roper will not listen to one who is not "an educated and intelligent economist," but I am still convinced that India will never compete on equal terms with Java until she learns to grow crops like those of Java and also acquires greater skill in the manufacture of sugar. Mere "protection" will not enable her to grow better crops; and as I said before, it seems almost unreasonable to compel 99 per cent. of the people of India to consume inferior sugar at an enhanced cost for the benefit of the remaining 1 per cent.

Yours truly,  
J. B. PENNINGTON.

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## ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

In reply to the query by your correspondent Mr. Delschaft in his letter published in the January number of the *Review*, I must explain that the words *khoja*, *khanum*, etc., are pronounced *hoja* and *hanum* by the Ottoman Turks. Another instance of the same peculiarity is the word *kharāj* (tax or tribute), which is pronounced by the Turks as *harāj*, and hence is commonly written as *haratsch* by European authors.

Yours truly,  
F. H. TYRRELL.

GRAND HOTEL DE CLARENS,  
CLARENS, SWITZERLAND.  
*March 16, 1914.*

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## THE CAPTURE OF DELHI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

May I make three observations on a letter which appeared in the March number of your *Review*, and of which the subject matter is my recently published account of my father's life and work?

1. Its writer asserts, to my surprise, that I "make the definite claim that Sir Alex. was the hero of Delhi." Other periodicals of position have characterized him as the "captor of Delhi," and like your correspondent, seem to think that in using this phrase they were giving expression to my thought.

I am at a loss to understand how any words of mine can have given rise to so unfortunate a misconception. To call any officer of Engineers the "captor of Delhi" would be to commit as gross a breach of military etiquette as to call Sir John Cheape or Lord Napier the captors of Multan, or Lord Napier the captor of Lucknow. General Wilson was the captor of Delhi in the same sense that Lord Clyde was the captor of Lucknow.

All three cities were taken by Generals who acted on siege-plans prepared for them by their officers of Engineers.

It is true that General Nicholson twice said: "Alex. Taylor took Delhi." This expression, however, was used colloquially, and in the heat of generous indignation against injustice; to separate it from its context is to distort its significance.

Still more incorrect would it be to associate so exclusive a title as that of "*the hero of Delhi*" with the name of any officer: heroism was common in the ranks of the Delhi Field Force. Some were doubtless pre-eminent in both character and opportunity, but the fingers of one hand would not suffice to register their number! My father would have shrunk in dismay from the acceptance of such an honour. As General Scott-Moncrieff has admirably said in a sketch of my father's life which appeared in the January number of *Blackwood*: "Nothing could be more foreign to his chivalrous character than to assume a priority of credit where others did noble and gallant service."

The claim made, not by me, but by a number of competent witnesses is much more definite and of a comparatively modest character. It is asserted that, owing to the disablement of the Chief Engineer, Colonel Baird-Smith, by a wound and by a sickness of a character which confined him to his tent, the burden of drawing up a plan of attack was laid on the shoulders of his second in command, by whom this responsible task was triumphantly achieved under circumstances which I have been fortunate enough to be able to put before my readers in the words of eye-witnesses and fellow-actors. These circumstances made the feat one which Sir Frederick Maunsell has characterized as "an operation unprecedented in the annals of warfare"—a battlefield previously surveyed, the position of every gun of the attacking force, and the way to every post distinctly marked on ground which was under the very eyes and fire of a watchful enemy; and finally, the operation carried out exactly as pre-designed."

This contention contains no element of disparagement of the services of the Chief Engineer, who, in spite of crippling illness, filled the all-important position of adviser to the General with firmness and judgment, and on whose exceptional powers of organization the success of the hazardous project largely depended.

2. Your correspondent goes on to call your readers' attention to Colonel Vibart's book, entitled "*Richard Baird-Smith, the Hero of Delhi*," "which," he says, "was generally considered at the time to prove the latter's claims up to the hilt." This book does not contain an impartial analysis of evidence, but is—admittedly—a piece of special pleading in which the facts and arguments on the other side are ignored, and has produced the reaction that might have been anticipated: it has provided Sir William Lee-Warner with the material on which he bases his strictures on Colonel Baird-Smith's loyalty to his General (*Fortnightly*, March, 1913), and other officers with evidence which has tempted them to suspect that distinguished officer's generosity towards his subordinate, doubtless, unjustly.

3. Your correspondent further speaks of an article which appeared in the *Saturday Review* of May, 1858, as "*the locus classicus* on" the con-

troversy." If it be so, the fact is characteristic of the method on which the controversy has been conducted from the outset.

Colonel Baird-Smith was invalided from Delhi either late in September or early in October. (I write from memory in the wilds of Italy, far from any books of reference.) He wielded an able pen, and his friends were literary. His wife was a daughter of De Quincey. Alex. Taylor—who had succeeded to the command of his corps, had taken part in the Rohilkund Campaign, and in the Siege of Lucknow—lay on a bed of sickness in May, 1858, disabled by a severe wound received when assaulting the Begum's Kothe, in complete ignorance of being the subject of anything of the nature of a controversy. Sick and wounded as he was, his heart was full of joy. By the grace of God a national disaster had been averted by the grit of his fellow-countrymen, a result towards which his own good head and stout heart had contributed materially. I am glad to know that even to his dying day he never even heard of that article. Not that he attached much importance to either praise or blame—he did his best, and then went on to the next "job." The pen, moreover, was not his weapon, nor that of his friends. They all worked together for impersonal ends, and the work of to-day trod too closely on the heels of that of yesterday for them to devote much time to the study of the Press. Still, it is surely a first principle of justice that none should presume to arbitrate between conflicting claims without having questioned the protagonists of both sides.

It seems to me that the truth about the services rendered by my father at Delhi—services of their nature secret—does not admit of mathematical proof, but that they can be deduced from the testimony of competent and disinterested witnesses. It is evident, moreover, the weight of the personalities of those witnesses is a factor which should not be ignored.

It is a question of "Quellen."

Sir John Kaye gives the sources whence he drew his information in his preface to the third volume of his "Sepoy War."

It should be observed that Sir John Kaye attaches importance to the fact that the plans lent him by Colonel Baird-Smith's family were annotated in Colonel Baird-Smith's handwriting, but it must not be forgotten that the notes in question were generally copies or amplifications of rough sketches and drawings made by Alex. Taylor, not in the safety of the office in camp, but when he stood on the enemy's land with his life in his hands, sometimes more than a mile from his nearest supports. It would be interesting to know what became of *those* papers.

Two persons only had personal knowledge of Alex. Taylor's work as a whole, Colonel Baird-Smith and General John Nicholson; the opinions held by the latter are a matter of common knowledge. No one was more *au courant* with all that passed in the complex life of the camp than Lord Lawrence, who corresponded with nearly everyone of note in the Force (except with Alex. Taylor); and he has borne eloquent testimony to his high sense of the young Engineer's services, notably in the well-known letter written to Lord Dalhousie after the Mutiny was over. Similar opinions have been publicly expressed by comrades in the Delhi Field



Force, by General Sir Frederick Maunsell, R.E., who commanded the Sappers throughout the whole of the operations, and was attached to the Right Attack; by General Thomason, R.E., whose duties throughout the operations were connected with the Left Attack; by Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, then Adjutant-General; and by Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, then Assistant-Adjutant-General.

John Nicholson, John Lawrence, Sir Neville Chamberlain, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Fred. Maunsell, General Thomason—these are men, surely, whose deliberate verdict on work in which they themselves participated should not be lightly brushed aside.

Yours faithfully,

ALICIA CAMERON TAYLOR.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT BALKAN WAR CORRESPONDENTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

### THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

DEAR SIR,

"Mighty is he whose quarrel's just, but mightier still is he who gets the biggest lie in first," has been the motto of the Balkan States. Whatever may be thought of the foregoing statements, they are neither opinions nor deductions, but historical facts. And equally as the world has been deluded regarding Turkey before the war, so it has been as greatly deluded regarding the war itself. Will those war correspondents forget that dirty night during the retirement to Tchataldja, when, camped alongside their broken down cart, they discussed the chances of being murdered for the sake of their provisions by some of that starving horde of troops streaming past them all night, whose line of march was marked by men who, exhausted by hunger had fallen down, to subsequently die of starvation? They will readily admit, now, that there was, indeed, a noble response to the Turkish Commander-in-Chief's (*vide Times*) "dignified and impressive appeal to the chivalrous sentiments of the Ottoman army." Is it, or is it not, true that the proclamations made by each of the Balkan sovereigns to their respective peoples was a direct appeal to the vilest of religious passions, and was not the Turkish reply to these proclamations a warning to the local authorities to take energetic steps to protect the Christians? In order to be first in the field for sympathy, it will be remembered that

before a shot had been fired, an official charge was made by Greece that the savage Turks were poisoning the wells, and when unable to prove their contention, rudely replied that the Turks were capable of it.

Italy having landed some 140,000 troops in Tripoli, and after many months of war, found herself hemmed along the coast, and unable to advance beyond the range of the guns of their war ships; she was being driven to her wits' end to find means to force Turkey to make peace and cede Tripoli. Neither her blockade, nor her attack on the Dardanelles, nor the seizure of the Ægean Islands had any effect on the Turks. As a last resource, she threatened to attack the coast of Asia Minor and the bulk of the Turkish forces were sent there for its defence. When the alliance, and the object of the Balkan States became obvious, the cross currents of the diplomatic world, and its inherited fears, so forced it to move, that it gave the Turkish Government clearly to believe that if it added no fuel to the fire by way of making preparations for war, the Powers themselves would take the Balkan States in hand and prevent the war. The foolish Turks not only took the Powers seriously and trusted them, but refrained from carrying out the autumn manœuvres; and dismissed to their homes those who had been called up for training.

The picturesque brigands of Montenegro declared war on October 8, 1912, and to their credit frankly avowed that the conquest of the Albanian town of Scutari was their object, and as much more of the Albanian lands as they could seize. The relations between the Albanians and the Central Government at Constantinople had been more than estranged. Since the establishment of the Constitution, the Albanians had been in constant revolt against the Government. Whether the grant of Albanian Home Rule would have otherwise shaped Balkan history, would now be a mere academic discussion. These domestic differences most effectually settled the fate of the western provinces of European Turkey. Had the Turks and Albanians been

united, the pæans of praise sung by the Greeks and Servians over their magnified victories against the scattered Turkish units in the western area of the war would, in light of subsequent events, have been otherwise rendered.

An intimation was conveyed to Kiamil Pasha, then President of the Council, through a British channel that the Balkan States would not be restrained by the Powers, and that it was imperative for Turkey to make peace with Italy. War between the Balkan Allies and Turkey was declared on October 17. The Treaty of Peace with Italy was signed on the 18th. Without doubt, the general opinion of the diplomatic world was that Turkey would be victorious, and so that she should not be allowed to disturb the Balkan equilibrium the Powers ordained that the *status quo* would be maintained. On the other hand, there were the fears that, if the Turks were defeated, no settlement could be effected without a war between Austria and Russia.

Within a fortnight, thanks to the grossest of misrepresentations, the almost universal belief (in which the majority of the Turks themselves shared) was that the Turkish Empire in Europe was a thing of the past, and with small prospects in Asia, 500 years of history, it was said, had gone the way of all flesh in as many minutes. Turkey, on the declaration of war, was totally unprepared, the majority of its troops were over in Asia Minor. Bulgaria had mobilized a force of 340,000 troops, every available man over nineteen years of age with twelve months training, and its generals, according to their own statements, had for years been preparing for the struggle.

The Bulgarian headquarters were 200 miles from Constantinople. Owing to the inadequate Turkish forces to check their advance, the Bulgarians were confident that Constantinople would be captured with the minimum of opposition, and Bulgarian sympathisers found their way there to attend the *Te Deum* to be held by King Ferdinand in the world-famed mosque of St. Sofia. The whole of the European Provinces to the west of Thrace were left by the

Turkish authorities to take care of themselves, and every effort concentrated on protecting the capital. All the available troops and stores were rushed up to Adrianople, so that, if it did not contain the Bulgarians as Plevna, in 1877, contained the Russians, it would at least contain a considerable section of the Bulgarian forces, and, above all, make a break in the line of their railway communications.

The Bulgarian army which invaded Thrace numbered some 250,000 troops. The first fighting took place near the frontier on October 23, only six days after the declaration of war. The Turkish plans were to delay the Bulgarian advance by a series of rear-guard actions, and for this purpose a more or less nondescript force of some 20,000 troops were scratched together. It has since been admitted by the Bulgarians that the Turks were successful in delaying their advance by four days. The Bulgarians in their wisdom allowed no war correspondents to accompany their armies, but they had a favoured correspondent with King Ferdinand at headquarters, and the world was "spoofed," as will be remembered, by the headlines in the whole of the press on the morning of October 25—" *Fall of Kirk Kilisse ; 50,000 Turkish Prisoners Taken.*" This news was not only believed in Constantinople, but in addition Levantine reports were circulated that the Commanders Mohamed Mukhtar (Son of the Grand Vizier) and Prince Aziz (a cousin of the Khedive) had been tried and shot by order of court martial for every military offence, including cowardice.

It may be here mentioned that the population of Constantinople and its environs is about a million people. The majority are classed as Levantines. The Greek population alone is about half a million. It is part of the Ottoman system of Government to allow the various Christian ecclesiastical heads to direct their respective flocks, who accordingly receive homage from them as though they were kings. The priest-ridden Levantines are under the influence and dominion of repulsive, long-haired, frowsy-

looking priests, whose dress and appearance conjure up thoughts of vermin, and whose prototype Christ kicked out of the Temple. Under such inspiration the Levantines would sell their souls to injure the Turks. They openly rejoiced at the then believed prospect of the departure of the Turks from Europe, and were responsible for the reports after the Battle of Lule Burgas that the Sultan had gone, and the Government had packed up preparatory to crossing the Bosphorus.

There is a considerable section of foreigners in Constantinople—British, French, German, and various continental nationalities. The Member for “Bulgaria” in the British Parliament, whose antipathies to everything Turkish is well known, wrote of the appalling ignorance of the majority of the foreigners in Constantinople on all matters pertaining to the Turks, their customs and country ; few speak Turkish, and although French, more or less, is common language, their social relations with the Turks could hardly be less.

It is said that the greater the ignorance the greater the readiness to pass judgment on questions without having studied the subject. Though ever ready with their views and opinions, the foreigners in Constantinople are mostly in accord with the charity boy, who said it was a question of taste as to “Whether it’s worth while going through so much to learn so little.” Under the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid, when the Turkish Ministers were merely clerks, the Embassies and their entourage lived in the sun, and kissing went by favour. With the establishment of the Constitution, this was all swept away, and accordingly it is the belief of this section that the new *régime* is a curse to the country, thus agreeing with the foreigners, who most erroneously think that a free Turkey will curtail their opportunities.

With the reported fall of Kirk Kilisse and 50,000 Turkish prisoners taken — though there was no fall of the town, and only some 20,000 troops employed in delaying the Bulgarians—the fertile imagination of the

Levantine ran riot, and the population of Constantinople was described as having become divided into three classes—the lying knaves, the stupid fools who gave currency to the lies, and the amazed and bewildered ignorant Turks.

The correspondents, of whom there was an influx into Constantinople, have been accused of sensationalism—had they even been supermen, they would have been misled, for on all sides they were snowed under with the contention that Abel was killing Cain, and if subsequent events have lowered their prestige in the eyes of their editors, these latter can be thankful that the seekers after copy did not send all the circumstantial news they were supplied with by the manufacturers of the reports for which the Levant is famed. Thanks to the Constantinople-Levantine imagination, coupled with the now admitted lies of the favoured correspondent at the Bulgarian headquarters, the almost universal belief, and still maintained throughout the world, is that, not only was Kirk Kilisse captured, and 50,000 Turkish prisoners taken, but that the Turkish troops at the Lule Burgas-Viza battle were demoralized, panic-stricken, and that the bubble of "Turkish military reputation had been pricked beyond all redemption." Fooled as the Turks had been by the failure of the Powers to make good their word to stop the Balkan States making war, and finding themselves in a condition totally unprepared, the utmost they could possibly hope for (and that seemed almost a forlorn hope) was the defence of the Capital—for this purpose, and at all costs and hazards, it was necessary to stay the Bulgarian advance pending the completion of the defensive positions at Tchataldja.

Immediately on the declaration of war, all the available troops and stores were rushed up to Adrianople, which, until it was starved out, kept a portion of the Bulgarian forces fully occupied for five full months. It was elected that the Bulgarian advance should be broken along the Lule Burgas-Viza line, which extended for some thirty miles across the Bulgarian line of advance from the railway

line on the left, or western side, to the Istranja Hills on the eastern side. Whilst Mohamed Mukhtar's frontier (Kilis) force was successfully hampering the Bulgarian advance, troops, trained and untrained, volunteers and non-descripts were being rushed up to the Lule Burgas-Viza line, and never, it can be truly said, was such an army put into the field. It was not an army, but a mere disorganized mob of armed men, more or less exhausted by forced marches, without food, and short of ammunition. It was expected that a sufficient food supply would be obtained in the surrounding district. Unfortunately its inhabitants, with a lively knowledge of what was in store for the Turks in the western provinces, fled in one unbroken stream, carrying everything possible away with them. Though the Turks were greatly inferior in numbers, and whilst the Bulgarians claimed that the last word had been said in their organization, and that their forces had been trained to a point, the Bulgarians were fought to a standstill, completely exhausted and played out.

It was on Monday afternoon, October 28, that the battle called Lule Burgas may be said to have commenced, and it is now known that Savoff's plan was to engage the Turks along their front from Lule Burgas to Viza, then to strike in on the Lule Burgas flank with the 1st Army, drive the Turks away from the railway, cut off their line of retreat to Tchataldja, and by driving them over to the Black Sea, force them to surrender. The Bulgarian plans were a complete failure, and the one man in the world who never wishes to again hear of the names of Lule Burgas, Tchataldja, and Bulair, is General Savoff, for he (as against the rest of the world) fully realizes the ghastly failure of the Bulgarian attack on Turkey. It is a natural question to ask, and as easily answered, "Why has the world been so misled?"

Credit is due in the first instance to Lieutenant Wagner, of the Vienna newspaper *Reichspost*, the favoured correspondent retained by the Bulgarian war staff, who was



given the spoon-fed information and the facilities to publish such news to the world as would serve the Bulgarian war plans. The Bulgarians kept all other correspondents effectually and safely bottled up, and away from the sphere of operations, so that their Ananias should have the whole field to himself. To disguise the failure of the Bulgarian efforts at Lule Burgas he was day by day sending out to the world accounts of the bloody battles that the pursuing victorious Bulgarians were inflicting upon the fleeing, demoralized, panic-stricken Turks, whose corpses were damming the rivers which he made run red with their blood, or, as the *Times* subsequently stated, misleading the world with "the reverberations of imaginary battles which gathered volume until all Europe rang with the roar of the guns and the dying cries of the slain." Whilst the Turks had retired to Tchataldja the Bulgarians had never advanced beyond Lule Burgas. If everything in war is fair, the Bulgarians were justified, for the first lie counts, and the majority would rather believe a lie than admit they had been fooled.

It was the intention of the Turkish administration to give the war correspondents every facility, a one time member of the House of Commons was engaged as Press Censor, and all were sent to the front in a special train. It is true that this was hung up at Tchorlu, and bitter were the complaints in consequence. In the bitterness of their wrath, hostility to everything Turkish was engendered, it being even represented that they were being detained by force as prisoners, and questions on this supposition were asked in the House of Commons. They were journalists out for copy, who are more dangerous to baulk than it is to come between a tiger and its prey. One only of the correspondents could be described as having had a military training, and few had seen more of war. What would a Kitchener have done with these correspondents, had he been faced with difficulties similar to those confronting the Turkish administration? In fairness to those correspondents

who returned for the renewal of the war, or subsequently reviewed its course, they not only modified their original and most erroneous opinions, but had it been possible to explain to them at the time the uneviable position in which Turkey had been placed by the Powers, their accounts would have been of more value to the public.

The correspondents were by no means all in accord. Three, by committing a breach of faith, succeeded in reaching the front. The *Times*, carrying the *Daily Mail*, were colleagues. "We were tricked, misled, cajoled," wrote the *Daily Mail*, "and it was intensely irritating that our efforts failed, while regular despatches were arriving daily from the Bulgarian side" (but he did not then know the source of these despatches). "There was no intention on the part of the Turks, despite their promises, of letting us see anything of the war; but we saw indeed a gigantic rout, and my recollection of the campaign will always be a rabble of disorderly soldiers slouching along with the spirit of despair."

Writing of this colleague when they arrived at the rear of the battlefield, the *Times* said that he "had come to his first battle, full of stories of fighting conjured up to the youthful mind by such experts as Fenimore Cooper, and was not backward in giving expression to his bitter disappointment at the non-realization of his youthful hopes. In fact, he became so bored at the monotony of the modern battlefield that he stretched himself out on a rug beside the motor-car and went off to sleep, invoking me to wake him if anything really interesting should occur."

In a subsequent review of the battle and with more details available, this latter correspondent, who so trounced his colleague, wrote that the Bulgarians had to thank their Christian God that, owing to the shortage of food and ammunition, the Turks were forced to evacuate their positions, which the Bulgarians were too exhausted to face again. And further, that "The Turks had nothing to be ashamed of, in spite of the brilliant word-painting of cor-

respondents, who let themselves go on the retreat-from-Moscow racket. It is curious how quickly the accomplished journalist can see red, and how difficult he finds it to draw the line between rout and retirement. Fortunately, there were no professional journalists with the Tirah Field Force when it scuttled down the Bara Valley in 1897. If there had been, the historical exactitude of the operations would have been as prostituted as has been the retirement of the Turkish armies from Lule Burgas."

During the first armistice a well-known British officer was given facilities by the Bulgarians (there was then no expectation of a renewal of the war) to examine the sphere of operations, and deriving his information through Bulgarian spectacles wrote: "For all practical purposes the Bulgarians were finished at Lule Burgas, there were no reserves, and all ranks were feeling the strain of three days continuous fighting, want of sleep, and soaked to the skin." He was told it commenced to rain on Tuesday morning, October 29, a pure invention of the Bulgarians to disguise their inability to follow up the retiring Turks. The respective armies were in contact on Monday, and during the battle of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the weather was exceptionally fine, and only with the general retirement on Friday, November 1, did it begin to rain.

Wagner himself, thinking the war over, wrote: "The result of the Battle of Lule Burgas was disappointing, and much less than had been at first anticipated. The Bulgars did not succeed in cutting off the Turkish army from its line of retreat, nor were they able to penetrate the lines of Tchataldja before the Turkish army was reformed."

Apparently not knowing how Turkey had been sold by the Powers, Lord Kitchener, in his report on Egypt, wrote: "Defective military arrangements appear to be responsible for the breakdown of one of the finest fighting armies that existed in the world." There was no breakdown of the fighting qualities of the troops. Some of the regiments

refusing to give way were almost annihilated, and by such fighting were the Bulgarians fought to a standstill.

War declared on October 17, with the Turks totally unprepared. The fighting on October 23 and 24, at Kirk Kilisse, delayed the Bulgarians, who at the Battle of Lule Burgas, October 28 to November 1, were brought up, fought out and exhausted, and the Turks, as subsequently chronicled by Wagner himself, had in the meantime been able to prepare the lines of Tchataldja for the defence of Constantinople. On passing through the vineyards before reaching Tchataldja the hungry mob, as might be expected, filled their emptiness with grapes, and it was an army writhing with colic that arrived at Tchataldja, and in truth they were scattered over the ground like wriggling worms, some 20,000 dying in three days. As the food supplies became available, the seizures stopped as though by magic, the number of cases dropping from over 4,000 one day to less than 400 the next. It was reported as cholera from Constantinople, and cholera it will be called so long as the incident is remembered. "At Tchataldja, soldiers stricken in thousands; *cholera havoc*," were the newspaper headlines, and the leader-writers were challenging the wisdom of King Ferdinand entering Constantinople and exposing his troops to the infection. Incidentally, it may be added, that by this time the Bulgars themselves had some 35,000 cases of sickness, another fact unknown to the world. The Bulgarians not only misled the world, but successfully deceived the foreign legations at Sofia, who privately communicated to their respective Embassy colleagues at Constantinople that the Turkish armies had been hopelessly routed, and that the Bulgarian cavalry were athwart their line of retreat. The fleeing and panic-stricken Turks, it was stated, would, on their way to Asia, wreak their vengeance, and Constantinople would be given over to an orgy of pillage, loot, rapine, and massacre; to circumvent this there was a call upon the fleets of Europe. Battleships were hurried to the Bosphorus, and thousands of its seamen

were landed to protect Constantinople. Telegrams sent from Constantinople were published saying that foreign officers had reported the situation at Tchataldja as hopeless. "The Doom of the Turk" is a sample of the headlines of the Press at that time. "Another foreign officer back from Tchataldja says he does not believe that the Turks had more than 40,000 troops manning the defences, and half of these were suffering from privation and disease," is a sample of the reports to which the Press gave currency.

The *Times*, according to its leading article on November 16, wrote that its local correspondent had "declared that three-fourths of the troops in the Tchataldja lines are demoralized and disorganized."

Other reports appearing in the Press stated that "official visitors to the Sublime Porte found nothing save the most abject depression, and an atmosphere of hopelessness." Reuter's agency issued a statement in London that "*the presence of the Bulgarian army will be required in Constantinople to protect the Christians,*" and, according to the Bulgarian war staff, *vide* Wagner, "its strategy was to rush the Tchataldja lines at the same time as the retreating Turks entered them." In the light of the final phases of the war, it was no doubt a wise provision to send the battleships to Constantinople, not for the purpose then contemplated, but to prevent the Bulgarian and other Christians from exterminating one another. In reply to a friendly request from London, the writer sent a lengthy telegram summarizing the situation, and emphatically stated that the Bulgarians would meet with a crushing defeat when they attacked Tchataldja. The telegram was sent round the London Press for publication: it was ignominiously rejected, for on the same day (November 14) had not Lieutenant Wagner cabled from the Bulgarian headquarters that "*after four days of murderous fighting the Bulgarian army has succeeded in breaking through the Turkish position at Tchataldja in the centre of the lines*";

and Reuter's agent at Constantinople cabled also on the same day: "*Reported capture of Turkish headquarters and surrender of Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief.*" The writer's telegram was returned to him in a friendly spirit, so that he should himself destroy the proof of his appalling stupidity; it reached him after the Bulgarians had been decisively beaten.

There are not a few in Constantinople who should blush with shame when they now think of their exaggerated fears at this time: when the ships leaving Constantinople were crowded, foreign residents laying in supplies of food, and the sand-bag and other defences erected at some of the Embassies. The panic feeling amongst the Levantines was excusable, for if they loved not the Turks, in their hearts they feared a Bulgarian invasion. "Is it conceivable," subsequently wrote the one war correspondent with a military training, "that the Bulgarians believed the sensational stories of the retreat from Lule Burgas published by the sensational journalist who never saw the Turks in action." As a matter of fact, if the Bulgarians deceived the world, they were equally misled by the reports from Constantinople of the supposed decimation of the Turkish Army, the utter demoralization of the remainder, the indefensible condition of the Tchataldja lines, the breakdown of the Turkish administration, and the chaos in Constantinople. Had they known the truth, and, in view of their own troubles, they would not have attacked Tchataldja, which they did before daybreak on Sunday morning, November 17, *three days after Reuter cabled the reported surrender of Nazim, and, according to Wagner, they had already broken through the lines.*

It has been frequently and circumstantially stated that the Bulgarians, acceding to the wishes of the Powers, had refrained from forcing an entrance into Constantinople. This is hardly compatible with the crushing defeat—with a loss of some 25,000 in killed and wounded—that the Bulgarians met with in their attack on the Tchataldja

lines. In view of the colourless report of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, the Turks could not be accused of exaggerating their achievement. Their loss of prestige in the eyes of the world would not have been so great had they displayed a little more robust faith in themselves, and issued reports on the same lines as Lord Kitchener did in South Africa. Contrast the difference between the Turkish failure to inform the world of the truth, with an unreputed Greek contention published in a London newspaper, which held that "those who organized the Greek Press campaign against the Bulgars deserve to be honoured by their country far more than the brave men who have fallen on the battlefield. That the impression created throughout Europe was false only proves more clearly than ever the intellectual superiority of the Greeks." After the magnificent and successful efforts of the Bulgarians in this direction with the aid of their faithful Wagner, truly the Christianity of the Balkans is based on the statement of the psalmist that "All men are liars." The fact that an armistice had been proposed by the Turkish Government before the Bulgarian attack led the world, as also the people in Constantinople, to believe that no serious attack had been pushed home by the Bulgarians. In spite of the fears that the fleeing and demoralized Turkish troops would, before crossing the Bosphorus, loot and massacre, and although at the instance of the Ambassadors the public had been warned that, on the firing of certain signal guns, all were to seek places of safety, and with the universally expected appearance of the Bulgars, it may be placed on record that Constantinople's contingent of golfers played their usual Sunday golf to the reverberations of the continuous roar of the guns of the battlefield proclaiming that hell was let loose at Tchataldja. Surely never before has golf been played under such conditions.

On Tuesday morning, November 19, Mohamed Mukhtar at the Derkos end of the Tchataldja lines, proposed to take the offensive. Whilst making a personal reconnaissance with his staff, he blundered into a Bulgarian position, and

all were shot down. The majority of the staff were killed, and Mohamed Mukhtar was severely wounded. There is, indeed, a time in the affairs of nations which, if missed, cannot be retrieved. An irreparable blunder was made in not proceeding with this offensive movement. With Adrianople in the rear of the Bulgarian armies, which were more than exhausted, and without supplies; hampered by their heavy battle losses, and burdened with some 35,000 cases of sickness, the Turks had the Bulgarians in the hollow of their hand, and the course of the war could have been completely changed. Truly indeed the Turks were more than fools on this occasion. Their inaction was a crime, and had any combination of circumstances then ended their empire in Europe, by this great failure alone they would have richly deserved their fate. It is true that the Turkish Administration, in view of their unpreparedness for war, had appealed in the first instance to the Powers for a settlement, and then direct to Bulgaria, but a Cromwell would have said, "Yea, verily, if diplomacy is good, it is slow, and in the meantime the Lord has delivered the ungodly into mine hands." With such a let off, the Bulgars willingly assented to an armistice, and the poor old Grand Vizier would have been justified if the ideas of a confederation, unofficially submitted by the writer to the Balkan peace delegates, had been realized. The basis of this confederation was independent sovereignty for Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro; autonomy for Albania; self-government for those districts, where the population consisted of mixed races, under Governor-Generals jointly appointed by the Sovereign States for a period of four years. The committee for the settlement of all frontiers and boundaries to be the Commanders-in-Chief under an umpire like Lord Kitchener. The confederation to form customs, railways, and commercial unions, and in combination to take a status in international affairs as the seventh Power in Europe; but history is mostly a record of exploded ideas.

*(To be Continued.)*



## OBITUARY

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### THE DEATH OF THE VICEROY OF WEST AND EAST.

THAT "the child is the father of the man" was perhaps never better illustrated than in the case of Lord Minto. In the early days of his life the qualities of sport and warfare had ample scope for development, and in after-life we find him riding five times in the Grand National, breaking his neck and still living, fighting for the Turks against Russia, and for his own country in Egypt and Afghanistan, and subsequently travelling through the remotest parts of the earth. He was appointed Governor of Canada during the South African War, and played a great part in fostering the love of the mother-country which impelled Canadians to help England in her hour of trial. But his most successful task was undoubtedly his administration in India, which began in the autumn of 1905. The difficulties which beset him at the outset would have been sufficient to overwhelm a man of smaller calibre. In the first place, his predecessor was a man of outstanding character amongst Indian Viceroys. Secondly, many of the innovations that had been introduced by Lord Curzon were either not yet mature, or at any rate not yet carried through. His first business, in fact, was to put the finishing touch to the work of another, before he could bring his influence to bear on any new problems that had sprung up in his own time. Though sent out by a Unionist Government, he was for the greater part of his rule in India under a Radical Ministry; yet, in spite of the criticism which was continually passed upon him, he never had any serious difference with the Home Government.

To these difficulties we must add a financial crisis, and the growing volume of unrest in India. He not only managed to grapple with all these problems he never for a moment lost his presence of mind. And, indeed, to an unruffled calmness he added a welcome geniality of manner. He was one of Nature's noblemen, always perfectly natural, always willing to talk familiarly with everyone, always ready to see people and find out what were their real grievances or difficulties, and how these might be bettered. In his secret soul he objected to being hedged in and kept apart as Viceroy.

The reforms instituted by him and Lord Morley began the new era in India, and there can be no doubt that it is to him that we must be grateful for the general scheme, and for planning them out in detail. One of the

reforms for which he was especially enthusiastic was to open up to Indian gentlemen the opportunity of taking commissions in the Indian Army. We cannot do better than quote passages out of the speech he made to the East India Association on April 24, 1912, when, as Chairman, he responded to Sir William Plowden's paper on the "Problems of Indian Administration":

"It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting commissions is less advanced than it was a generations ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844 Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently, Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1885 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart, and others, all held the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions; they maintained that young Indian gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction, but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops, and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments, in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at home. I do not know why. But, at any rate, we certainly cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command; the only way to lessen them is by example, and by constant sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects. Under existing conditions it would, in my opinion, be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment, or to a regiment of the Indian Army, against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction, and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again, and before I came away, the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commissions should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education in the Cadet Corps. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start, and that young Indian officers should be gazetted to it in the ordinary way, with *bona-fide* commissions, who would rise in due course of promotion; whilst the British skeleton would gradually disappear, and an Indian officer would eventually obtain command of the regiment, which would be in the course of twenty years or so. The scheme was sent home, and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then."

In conclusion, we may quote from a letter sent by his Lordship to this *Review* on January 14 of this year. He had been asked to write for us an article on the admission of Indian gentlemen to the Indian Army :—

“You will understand how impossible it is to write an article for the *Asiatic Review*, as the least exertion tires me at present. The subject you have proposed is one in which I was always interested in India, and will have to be finally dealt with some day. I hope very much the form the *Asiatic Review* has now adopted will prove a success.

“Believe me,

“Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Minto', followed by a long, sweeping horizontal stroke that extends to the right.

This shows how, to the very last, Lord Minto maintained his close interest in Indian affairs. And all Indians will agree that in him they have lost a true, a tried, and a trusted friend.

## OUR INDIAN MAIL

THE Indian Budget for 1914-15 was presented for consideration at a meeting of the Imperial Council at Delhi on the 2nd of March last. The revised estimates for 1913-14 showed a revenue of £84½ millions as against the Budget estimate of £82½ millions. The expenditure for 1913-14 was £83,675,000, instead of the estimated £83,911,000. The Budget estimate of the total revenue for 1914-15 is £85,033,000, and the estimated expenditure £86,962,000. Net deficit, £1,929,000.

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During the meetings of the last session of the Imperial Council, five resolutions were proposed by non-official members. Four honorary members asked for commissions to inquire into the administration of gaols in India, Provincial Finance, Railway Management, and the causes of the recent Bank failures in India. One honorary member asked for opinions from the Provincial Governments upon the existing system of rural taxation. The Government of India accepted the resolution about gaol reform in India. The other resolutions were either lost or withdrawn.

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A deputation representing the Indian National Congress will be in England this summer, to lay before the British public some of the more pressing grievances of their country. The deputation will probably include the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Messrs. Lajpat Rai, Subba Rao, Bhupendranath Basu, Mazharul Haq, M. A. Jinnah, S. Sinha, V. M. Sainarth, Bishen Narayan Dhar, and C. P. R. Adiyar.

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Lord Hardinge presided over a Conference held at Delhi to discuss the question of establishing a college for the higher education of sons of ruling chiefs and other noblemen in British India. The proposal was enthusiastically accepted. Rs. 2,800,000 has already been subscribed.

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A sensation has been caused in Calcutta—in European circles—by the acquittal of the student Ray of the charge of murdering Inspector Ghose

of the Criminal Investigation Department. A fresh trial has been ordered with regard to the murder of a spectator.

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A great revulsion of feeling is being manifested in Bengal against the system of exacting exorbitant dowries from parents of marriageable girls. According to the caste rules of a section of the Hindu community, parents have to suffer social ostracism if their daughters remain unmarried beyond a certain age. Snehalata Devi, a young Bengali girl, as a protest against this evil system, and to save her father from utter ruin in finding a dowry for her, burnt herself to death the other day in the most deliberate manner.

We hope the immolation of Snehalata will not have been in vain.

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In connection with the discovery of anarchist plotting in Delhi, a series of house searches have taken place in Delhi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. Nine persons have so far been arrested, and inquiries are still proceeding.

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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*MAY 15, 1914*

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## INDIA AND THE PRESENT LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

BY R. S. BAJPAI, B.A., B.C.L. (OXON.)

IN view of the next General Election, which may come off any time in the near future, and the part the British public plays, or ought to play, in the management of the Indian Empire, it is scarcely necessary to add an apology or an introduction to an article which is intended to state the task that awaited the Liberal party when they came to office in 1905, and to consider how they have faced it, in order that the British electorate may be enabled to realize their record in respect of Indian administration and to decide how far their return to power will be desirable.

Lord Curzon began his Viceroyalty by altering the constitution of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which Lord Northbrook had granted, and by reducing the number of elected members from fifty to twenty-five, thereby equalizing the elected and the nominated, with the result that twenty-eight Indian members resigned as a protest. A number of commissions were appointed, some of which, the educated community consider, did them more harm than good. The Universities Commission, among other things, recommended that "Fees must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a University career," and matters culminated in the passing of the Universities Act in the face of unanimous opposition by the elected members of the Supreme Legislative

Council, and under it the Universities were thoroughly "officialized." The Police Commission, whatever else it did, put an end even to the theoretical possibility of an Indian entering direct into the Imperial Police Service. The Official Secrets Act made any public criticism of a Government measure impossible until it has been made public, and, according to the *Pioneer*, "Russianized" the statute book. The demands for a larger employment of Indians in the higher public services in conformity with Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1888 were met with the strictest interpretation of the qualifying words in that Magna Charta of India. Lord Curzon's speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, in the course of which he had said: "Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth" and "undoubtedly truth took a higher place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and wile have always been held in much repute," created a great deal of bitter feeling. The ill-fated Partition of Bengal—the greatest political blunder since the Battle of Plassey, as Lord Macdonnell put it—robbed Lord Curzon of whatever credit was due to him for his support of the Civil power, as against the Military, which led to his controversy with Lord Kitchener. In the words of Lord Morley, "splendidly designed as was his work from the point of view of efficiency, he (Lord Curzon) still left in India a state of things . . . that could not be held a satisfactory crowning of a brilliant and ambitious career." The secret of this lay in the fact that "during his remarkable Viceroyalty, he did not accept the necessity for political concessions." And according to Dr. Rash Behari Ghose "that most brilliant Viceroy, who had nothing but gibes and sneers for our aspirations and prayers . . ., found India comparatively contented and left it fermenting with unrest," and his "reactionary policy . . . left behind it a burning sense of helplessness and humiliation" which drove some Indians,

"small in numbers, almost mad with indignation." Some of these men, though "small in numbers," heralded the advent of extremism in India which manifested itself in seditious speeches, inflammatory writing, and even anarchism. It would be unfair to deny that the reduction of the salt tax, the raising of the limit for the income tax, and several other items of Lord Curzon's policy were beneficial, but such useful measures were lost on the Indian public largely because they were sandwiched in between others which aroused the bitterest opposition that the educated community have ever offered throughout the history of British rule in India. If, therefore, Lord Curzon, with all his magnificent parts, failed in his administration of India (Mr. C. J. O'Donnell and several other authorities have openly said so), and if his Lordship's definition of the "efficiency of administration" as a "synonym for the contentment of the governed" has been falsified as a matter of fact, an analysis of the causes that led to it is well worth the making. Imputation of motives is never safe—the reasons, perhaps, lay in the popular belief (whether it was right or wrong is another matter) that Lord Curzon distrusted the educated Indians, that his Lordship did not consider them fit to be associated with the management of their own affairs, or to be entrusted with responsible offices under the State, and so long as the standard of "blistering efficiency" was maintained, and his Lordship was to be the judge of it, and no one else, the position of the bureaucracy must be kept intact, and popular demands and popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments could be safely ignored.

Lord Morley did not overstate the case when, speaking in the House of Commons on June 6, 1907, he said: "We did not come quite into a haven of serenity and peace. Very fierce monsoons had broken out on the Olympian heights at Simla, in the camps, and in the councils at Downing Street. This was the inheritance into which we came—rather a formidable inheritance." It may well be said that the situation was the most complicated that the



British democracy has ever been called upon to face. There was unrest, bitterness, despondency, and a growing belief in the indifference of the British Government towards India, and a strong feeling to boycott the British all round. Even the moderate Indian leaders were losing confidence, but, encouraged by the appearance of the Liberal party at the head of affairs, they persisted in checking the anti-English feeling; and in guarded terms at the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December, 1906, Mr. Dadabhai Naroji exhorted his audience not to despond, and, speaking for himself, he said: "Not only that I have not despaired, but at this moment, you may think it strange, I stand before you with hopefulness," and he attributed his "hopefulness" to what he called "the present 'revival' of the true old spirit and instinct of liberty and free British institutions in the hearts of the leading statesmen of the day," meaning thereby the prominent leaders of the Liberal party. It must be pointed out that the hands of the Indian leaders were considerably strengthened by Lord Morley when he said: "You often hear people talk of the educated section of the people of India as a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers, but it is fatally idle to say that this infinitesimal fraction does not count. The educated section is making, and will make, all the difference." How far the anticipations of the Indian leaders were justified, and what has been the attitude of the Liberal party towards the suggested causes of the failure of the preceding administration, the following pages are intended to show.

The Royal Decentralization Commission was appointed in 1907 to inquire into a series of questions, and to report how the executive power could be brought into closer touch with local conditions. It is impossible to give even a brief outline of the numerous recommendations it made, but there was not a question which was agitating the public mind in India to which the Commission did not refer either directly or indirectly; and it certainly stands in a class by

itself because of the richness of the material it collected, and the nature and extent of its recommendations, and also because it amounted to a frank recognition of the *prima facie* unsuitability of the machinery to the changed conditions of the country. It was the first attempt at "political concession," for which it prepared the ground. It was also the first blow at the infallibility of bureaucratic "efficiency."

Another measure which also stands in a class by itself was the Reform Scheme—in theory an extension of the system initiated by Lord Cross, but in reality so wide, liberal, and comprehensive an expansion of the various legislative councils, and an enlargement of their powers and functions, that it at once changed the atmosphere of suspicion, diffidence, and boycott, and was warmly welcomed throughout India. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, referring to the sentiment it had aroused, observed: "It is one of high appreciation and of deep admiration for the statesmanship which has prompted a scheme of reform so comprehensive in its character, so far-reaching in its consequences, which I hope and trust will mark . . . a memorable epoch in the annals of British rule in India." Under the scheme provision has been made for a non-official majority in all the provincial councils; powers have been given to members to move resolutions and ask supplementary questions, and to take an important part in the expenditure of the Indian revenues when the Budget is under consideration. There is still an official majority in the Imperial Council, but otherwise the same extension of powers has been accorded to its members. These privileges appear to be something more than "a mere farce" when one remembers that formerly the Budget debate was the only day in the year on which matters of general concern could be brought before the Legislative Councils as they met to conduct an academic debate on a cut-and-dried Budget, neither a line nor a figure of which could be altered. There are some features in the Council

regulations to which the advanced school in India take exception, and some resentment is also felt in certain quarters at the remarks made in the House of Lords to the effect that India can never have self-government on colonial lines. But the constitutional importance of the private resolution carried in the Bengal Legislative Council a few months ago (in spite of the official vote being cast against it) in favour of the appointment of a mixed committee of that Council to advise the Government on sanitary expenditure cannot be ignored : for it affords an index of the possibilities the provision of a non-official majority holds out. Nor can one overlook the following words in which the present Secretary of State for India had defended this non-official majority when the India Councils Bill was before the House of Lords. Referring to a remark from the Opposition that there was no great hardship in being in a perpetual minority, and the possibility of the survival of such a party on the analogy of the Liberal minority in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe said : "Well, my Lords, appearances are sometimes deceptive. We may maintain a calm demeanour, and even attain at times to the appearance of a spurious joviality ; but the noble Lord will guess, if he does not know, the effect on our general character, our tempers, and our minds, of living in a state of being perpetually outvoted." And, "speaking quite seriously," he went on to assure the House that, were it not for the fiscal question, some of his party would have turned their attention to the "cultivation" of their "gardens"—so great was their growing lack of "interest in public life."

The following passage from the despatch of the Government of India, dated August 25, 1911, with which Lord Crewe fully concurred in his reply, dated November 1, 1911, also constitutes an important pronouncement on the subject : "Nevertheless, it is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be con-

ceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. . . . It is generally recognized that the capital of a great central government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada, and Australia." These remarks were made deliberately, and Lord Crewe's observations, in the course of which he is said to have explained away the popular interpretation put upon these words, must be taken in conjunction with the circumstances under which they were made—after repeated attacks by Tory peers when a Government of India Bill was waiting to be passed through the House of Lords. After all, as Lord Courtney pointed out, there can be no finality in these matters ; the first Irish Home Rule Bill came immediately after Mr. Gladstone's repeated denials that any such measure was under contemplation, and it was not so very long ago that the doctrine of the "settled fact" was exploded in connection with the Partition of Bengal. Besides, Mr. Montagu has not withdrawn the views he had expressed at Cambridge. Such promises are not lightly made, nor can they be lightly withdrawn or explained away.

The recommendations of the Royal Decentralization Commission relative to the powers of the village Panchayats, and the constitution and the functions of the Rural and District Boards and Municipalities are further indications of the policy of the Government to entrust to Indians larger shares in the management of their own affairs. Referring to the village Panchayats the Commission observed : "It is most desirable to constitute and develop village Pan-

chayats for the administration of certain local affairs within the village," and they recommended that these bodies "should have summary jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases, they should be allowed to incur expenditure on the cleaning of the village and minor village works," and they might "be entrusted with the construction and maintenance of village school houses, and with some local control in respect of school management, and the management of small fuel and fodder reserves." Sub-rural Boards are to be invested with "independent resources," and "should have the charge of minor roads in the district; of primary and (when they desire) of middle vernacular education; of medical work; of vaccination; and of sanitary work. . . ." The District Boards were also recommended for larger powers. And as regards the Municipalities the Commission noticed that "in present circumstances they can never become, as Lord Ripon intended them to be, effective instruments of local self-government;" and while recommending them for larger powers of taxation, control, etc., they added that they should have "substantial elective majority, and should usually elect their own chairman." The recommendations as regards the Municipalities have already been accepted by the Government, and proposals to embody these principles in the municipal government of Calcutta are already before the country preparatory to the introduction of formal legislation to carry them into law.

Coming to the question of the fitness of Indians to be entrusted with responsible offices under the State, it was indeed refreshing to turn to Lord Morley's remarks when, referring to the two Indians he had appointed to his Council, he said that in doing so he had intended to "teach all English officers and governors in India . . . that in the eyes of the ruling Government at home, the Indian is perfectly worthy of a place . . . in the counsels of those who make and carry on the laws and the administration of the community to which he belongs. We stand by this position not in words alone: we have shown it in act

and shall show it further." In addition to the presence of these two Indian members on the India Council in London, the appointment of one Indian member each to the Imperial as well as the Provincial Executive Councils, the substantial increase of Indians as High Court judges (the number has been nearly doubled since 1906), and the appointment of the Royal Commission on Public Services to inquire into and to report on the whole question are facts which may well bear out Lord Morley's attitude towards the Queen's Proclamation when he characterized it as "a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it, and ashamed if he tries to betray or to mock it."

As instances of the desire of the Government to meet popular demands one notices that the Indian National Congress itself was officially recognized in 1910, and then one turns to the appointment of a committee under Mr. K. L. Datta to inquire into the rise in prices in India, and of a Commission under Lord Nicholson to revise military expenditure, a substantial increase in the grants for education, the steps taken towards the provision of Free Primary Education, and a wider extension of sanitation with a number of Indians as Deputy Commissioners of Sanitation. Incidentally it is important to mention what, in 1908, Sir Harvey Adamson, the then Home Member of the Viceregal Council, said in announcing the sanction of an experimental scheme for the partial separation of the judicial and executive functions. "... The inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials affecting the general peace of the district are not always conducted in that atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a court of justice. Nor does this completely define the evil, which lies not so much in what is done, but in what may be suspected to be done; for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be pure: it can never be the bedrock of our rule unless it is also above suspicion. . . . Can any Government be strong whose

administration of justice is not entirely above suspicion? The answer must be in the negative." In the face of these words there can hardly be any doubt as to the fate of the demand for a further extension of this scheme which is already under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

How far the present Government has respected popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments is another important question, in answer to which the following facts may be cited: The King's visit to India in 1911 amidst endless political disaffection amongst a class of people hardly calls for any comment to emphasize its significance and political value. The abolition in all services, except the Indian Civil and a few others, of the Exchange Compensation Allowance (a percentage over their pay which only British-born servants of the Crown were allowed)—perhaps a small matter in itself—was a direct attempt to remove an anomaly and to do away with the preferential allowance to which Indians appointed under the same rules and conditions were not entitled even when drawing the same pay and doing the same work as their favoured European colleagues. Further instances may be found in Lord Morley's speech to the I.C.S. probationers at Oxford; his severe censure of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam (who was very unpopular with the Bengalis), because the sentence of death passed on one Udai Patni had been carried out while his appeal for mercy was on its way to the Government of India after having been rejected by the Local Government; his Lordship's remarks that "Bad manners, overbearing manners, are disagreeable in all countries: India is the only country where bad and overbearing manners are a political crime"; the recommendations of the Royal Decentralization Commission that the Government officials "should be made to realize that their value and prospects as Government officers depend not merely on their performance of their official duties, but on cultivating good and friendly

relations with the people among whom they move, and confidential reports on officers should lay stress on this point." And last but not the least, the modification of the Partition of Bengal which aroused the bitterest opposition from the Tory party as a whole (except from Lord Amphill, who has consistently been more of a Radical than a Conservative in his outlook on Indian affairs), the substitution of the gubernatorial system of government in that province, the creation of Executive Councils in Bengal and Behar, and of Legislative Councils for Assam and the Central Provinces and Berar, the settlement of the Cawnpore Mosque trouble in August last, the release the other day of twenty-three out of the thirty persons who had been convicted of taking part in the cow-killing riots at Ajudhia, and the reduction of the sentences passed on the remaining seven, the prospective solution of the South African question, and the lengths to which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State went in their speeches to pour oil over the troubled waters, not only indicate how far the Government is anxious to respect popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments, but, some of them at any rate, define a new departure towards the bureaucracy and justify Mr. Montagu's observation: "We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word (prestige). We must uphold it by just institutions, and more and more as time goes on by the consent of the governed."

The only blot on the Indian record of the Liberal Government, according to the advanced politicians in India, was the revival of the obnoxious and obsolete Deportation Regulation III. of 1818, and the enactment of certain well-known legislative measures of repression; but it is true to say that in the view of India as a whole these lapses from Liberalism were condoned by the policy of conciliation and sympathetic consideration which has been uniformly pursued since the advent of Lord Hardinge as Viceroy.



## THE FUTURE OF THE CHIEFS OF INDIA

BY DEWAN

### I

PERHAPS one of the most pressing questions now engaging the attention of the Government of India is that regarding the education of the Chiefs and Kumars (their sons) of Native States. Indeed, the question is in need of a speedy solution, for the present order of things is far from satisfactory, and the responsibility of delay in bringing about new conditions and a wider range of improved prospects daily becomes greater. With the appointment of the Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of the Indian services, it is to be hoped that the opportunity will be given of the aspect, from the chiefs' point of view, of the questions which come within the scope of their inquiries being thoroughly gone into and carefully considered.

The term "chiefs of India" is in need of definition, for it is generally understood to include both those who do not and will not rule (*i.e.*, younger sons) and those who do or will reign. But it has even a wider meaning than this, for it includes sons of minor branches of ruling houses, for whom some provision usually has to be made. The time has passed when these may spend their lives in dignified idleness. In former days, before the establishment of the *pax Britannica*, fighting and idleness alternated. But now the former amusement is not tolerated, and its place has, to a large extent, been taken by petty intrigue.

How, then, is India and the Empire to make the best of this material? or, indeed, how should it perform its duty in providing occupations for those whom civilizing influences have deprived of a means of livelihood and recreation?

For a variety of reasons, the Chiefs have till now, with a few rare exceptions, been unable, and probably unwilling, to compete in the open market of learning.

For one thing, heavy brain work was considered undignified, and their status entitled them to lead a life of idleness. But the vast strides in education and social reform made in British India have not left the States unaffected, and under the guidance of Government the old type of Chief is fast becoming non-existent, while comparative education is having certain marked results.

In education only lies the solution of the question. At present there are three well-known colleges at which Chiefs are for the most part educated. These are the Mayo College at Ajmere, the Daly College at Indore, and the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. In addition, there are several institutions of lesser status and importance. The curriculum at all these places is sufficient to give the boys a fair knowledge of English and how to behave as gentlemen.

With these boys, however, the influence of home is very strong, and this fact makes the task of those responsible for their education so much the more difficult. The influence of the zenana is in the large majority of cases very detrimental to a boy's progress, and it is unfortunately only too much in evidence. The zenana ladies do not as a rule look with favour upon education, and very naturally they do not like their sons or other male relations to be estranged from them. It is a fact not to be denied that after a boy has led a wholesome and well-ordered life for some time the zenana ideals become irksome and abhorrent to him, and estrangement from such strict upholders of these ideals follows as a natural result. This estrangement is feared, partly from natural feeling and partly from apprehension that something untoward might happen to the boys, in which case, if

the father is dead or dies, the ladies lose all their privileges. With the father dead and the son alive, they still have a certain position; but if left without either, they know they can command very little consideration.

Consequently, the attitude of the zenana ladies is partly natural and partly interested, and the only remedy appears to be in the education of women. Female education is making great strides in India; but the Native States are very conservative in this respect, and the realization of a condition of general female education among the ruling classes seems so far off that it cannot be considered. The policy of putting a boy wholly under an English tutor to a very large extent counteracts the zenana in making a new home for him. But to give a tutor to every boy is neither expedient nor possible. In the first place, a supply of qualified tutors would not be forthcoming; and, secondly, in the majority of cases, the cost is too great to be considered.

As I have mentioned above, the Chiefs may be divided into two groups—viz. :

1. Those who will rule; and—

2. Those who will not rule; and each group should be considered separately.

1. The prospects of those who will rule are fairly assured. The policy which governs the relations of the Government of India with the Native States is well known as being what Sir William Lee-Warner, in his book "Protected Princes of India," calls one of "subordinate union." The Chiefs and Government act together for the common good of both. It is not likely that the policy of annexation will ever again be resorted to, so that unless and until the British leave India, the continuance of the States as such is assured. All that is necessary for these Chiefs is a good system of education. For them the present curriculum at the Chiefs' colleges is fairly adequate. It goes as far as what is known as a "diploma course." For the diploma the topmost boys of the three colleges work annually. The course just falls short of the standard necessary for matricula-

tion at the Universities, and there do not appear to be any adequate reasons against the matriculation being substituted. At the Mayo College at Ajmere a post-diploma course has been started. But this is merely the patching up of an old garment.

The Chiefs themselves would on the whole prefer the removal of educational limitations. Of course it is open to them to send their sons elsewhere to be educated, and many have done so. But the result of wholesale disaffection of this nature would result in the closing of at least one of the colleges, and this is most undesirable.

One very necessary change is an increase in the staff of English masters. The present numbers—two or three—are much too small, and the Indian assistants are not always what they should be. Some of these make a point of indulging or compromising with certain boys, in the hope that when they “come to the gadi” (throne) some remunerative post in the State may be given them. Moral education thus suffers for the benefit of the master’s personal interests.

When it comes to the time for a boy to leave school, he arrives at perhaps the most critical period of his life. Should his father be alive, he returns for a time to his home, and learns, or does not learn, all about the administration of his father’s State and his own future heritage. Some Chiefs proceed almost at once to the Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun, there to learn military discipline. They stay for one, two, or three years, as the case may demand. Two years at the most are sufficient for a future ruling Chief, unless his State possesses Imperial Service troops, which it is his desire to command efficiently.

The Cadet Corps is a most excellent institution for those Chiefs, and, where practicable, all should be “encouraged” to undergo a one year’s course at least. At the end of a three years’ course they may qualify for a commission, but this is another question which chiefly affects those who are not destined to rule.

After passing through the College and the Cadet Corps, there is one very necessary portion of his education with which the prospective ruler has scarcely come in touch, and that is good administrative ideals on a Western basis. What is the result? If he is called upon to rule before he has widened his administrative horizon, he is left in his State more or less at the mercy of the officials. This means that the affairs are, more often than not, vested in an officer who is a sort of Prime Minister. If he be a good man, the Chief may be safe and the State progress. But if otherwise, corruption and inefficiency are soon the guiding features of the Administration. The result may be trouble, for the subjects will abide by the rule of a bad Chief where they would not tolerate a bad "Karbhári" (Prime Minister). Good Prime Ministers may be counted on the fingers. Why should not a prospective ruler be obliged to study practical administration by being attached to a Collectorate in British India for a year or so? The advantages of such a course are obvious. The Chief would start off with practical governing experience, whereas the time spent thus would not be too long for him to have formed fixed ideas of his own which might come in conflict with the principles underlying Native State Administration. He would also have the advantage of associating with European officials and getting to understand them.

Of late years the policy of sending boys to England to be educated has been tried, but not altogether with success. "The Broken Road" brought to light some of the abuses of the scheme. After being brought up in England a boy often becomes dissatisfied with the conditions of life in his State. He loses sympathy with his subjects, and finds himself in a position of splendid isolation. More often than not he comes in contact with Western vices, and develops a taste for extravagance. The comparative narrowness of his life at home, and the want of congenial and educated companionship, become most irksome to him. If he is made of the right "stuff," he may get over his

disappointment, but unfortunately only too many cases can be shown where indulgence in drink and other vices have led to an unhappy life or a premature death.

## II

The case of those Chiefs who will not rule is of even more urgency. What prospects are open to them? At present very poor ones. They are practically debarred from entering the Indian Civil Service, while the Educational, Medical, Engineering, and Forest Departments are also hardly accessible to them. Their status does not permit of their becoming officers in the Indian Army, as the Indian officers are more of the nature of the French "Sous Officers," and, with only a few exceptions, they have risen from the ranks. They form, indeed, a class by themselves, with which the Chiefs have practically nothing in common. The Imperial Service troops offer an opening to some of them, but these are too few, and only exist in some of the larger States. With the primary object of officering these troops, Lord Curzon established the Imperial Cadet Corps. But this has not proved altogether a success. Indeed, its numbers were so small in 1911 that all past members were invited to rejoin for the Coronation Durbar. They responded nobly, with the result that an imposing body-guard of fifty members was formed. Another of its objects was to qualify Chiefs for commissions in the Regular Army after a period of three years' training. Of those who have got such commissions, some have since been called upon to rule their States. Some have gone into the Imperial Service troops, while a few have been attached to regular battalions of the Indian Army. One of these has been an A.D.C. for the last six years, and there appears to be every prospect of his remaining so for the rest of his life! Thus the Chiefs' military prospects are very limited.

The curriculum at the Chiefs' colleges obviously does not go sufficiently far for those who will not rule. They cannot matriculate at the Universities from them, and so

are not able to obtain degrees without having special tuition, or proceeding to a Government High School. What is the result? Many of them have to take up such secretarial or other positions as they may be sufficiently fortunate to obtain in some Native State. A very small number get appointments in the Indian Police, and a modicum of fortunate ones, whose fathers can bear the cost, go to the Cadet Corps, and pass thence to command or officer some unit of the Imperial Service troops. The remainder do practically nothing. Literature does not appeal to them. They live often in isolated places, with no educated companionship. Gradually they mix with inferiors, and indulge in listening to their flattery. By degrees the stricter habits of life formed at school become distasteful to them, and they even forget the English language. It does not take very long for them to lapse completely into conditions agreeable to their surroundings. They begin taking opium and indulging in other vices till death frees them from a life of uselessness.

This picture is not very pleasant to contemplate, but wherein lies the remedy?

### III

There appears to be only one way of improving the future of those Chiefs who are likely to rule, and the prospects of those who are not. This lies in the improvement of educational facilities, and in making provisions for a good fighting chance. To this end the Indian Civil Service should be placed within the Chiefs' reach. There is no possibility of their adding materially to the chance of Indians flooding the Service, while they form the best class of Indian for that Service. Their status is such that they already possess the prestige of being of the ruling classes.

To render them fit to take their place in the Indian Civil Service, the colleges should be brought more strictly into line with the system obtaining in English public schools, and to this end there should be an increased staff of English masters at each of the seats of learning.

Matriculation should be made possible from the schools to a resident University, which should be under Government control, and situated, preferably, at Delhi. The University should be kept strictly for the class for which it is intended, and a three years' course should be necessary before a degree be obtained. Specialization should begin only after entering the University, and degrees might be given in arts, forestry, and engineering.

After obtaining their degrees, selected Chiefs should be sent to England for a period of two years to undergo a post-graduate course, in which there should be specialization in law and administration, etc., engineering or forestry, according to the degree taken at Delhi. For forestry candidates a sojourn in Germany or France—for part of the time at least—would probably be necessary. Now arises the first apparently real difficulty in such a scheme. What standard should be set for candidates? Engineering and forestry present no difficulties in this, for there is no reason why candidates should not be required to fulfil every qualification necessary for admission to the Forests and Public Works Departments. But for the Civil Service the question is different. The English candidate has to learn a lot that is useless to him afterwards, and after passing into the Service he is required to qualify for a riding test, and to take up an Indian vernacular. Both of these items should be omitted from his curriculum, and he should be required to pass, at the end of his two years, a stiff qualifying examination in his subjects for specialization. As all would be specially selected men, there is no reason why all should not fulfil the requirements; but a further extension of six months in England, with re-examination at the end of the period, might be allowed for any who might fail to qualify at the first attempt.

A period of two years in England at the age at which candidates would have arrived should be sufficient time in which to take full advantage of their opportunities for studying Western methods of administration, but not too



long to estrange them from their own country. While in England they should be constantly under the close supervision of an experienced English official from the Indian Civil Service. Under these conditions, there is no reason why the very best material should not be obtained.

One or two nominations might be given annually into the Educational Department, and this would give the Chiefs access to all branches of the public service in India except the army. I purposely exclude the Medical Service, as that needs such a course of special duty that it should only be entered under the rules at present in force. The policy of allowing Chiefs to officer the Indian Army has been considered many times within the last decade, and there are many obvious disadvantages to such a course being adopted. But why should not one or two regiments be formed—as an experiment only if necessary—into which Chiefs could pass after a period of three years' training in the Cadet Corps? Only selected men should be so posted, and British officers could be gradually eliminated with the exception of a Colonel and one Major. The time is not ripe for consideration as to the desirability of allowing Indians to command the regiments, but under such a scheme, at least, they could become Junior Majors. At present promotion to such rank is practically impossible. After a term of years as Major, they might be taken to work as Colonel on the Staff, in which case they would end up no worse off than many British officers do.

Such, in broad outlines, is a scheme for improving the prospects of those Chiefs who will not rule, and for enabling them to lead lives of usefulness to the State. We cannot delay much longer in bringing a means of livelihood within their reach. We have appointed ourselves their trustees, and as such should not be blind to their necessary wants. In many of the Native States great strides have been made of late years towards efficiency. Let us, therefore, give every encouragement to a deserving class—one, moreover, which has many times shown its loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor.

## MOROCCO IN THE MELTING-POT

BY CHARLES ROSHER, F.R.G.S.

Author of "Light on the Moroccan Question," etc.

It may seem strange that this article should appear in the *Asiatic Review*; for a glance at the map reveals that Morocco is in the extreme north-west of Africa, and, with the exception of Tuat, lies westward of the meridian of Greenwich. Its position on the map notwithstanding, the characteristics of Morocco are not only Oriental, but to a marked degree Asiatic.

A large proportion of the people are descended from Arabian stock, and their language is Arabic, while the Moroccan Jews are equally, by descent, of Asiatic origin.

The very soul of the people is more Eastern than African. Even the Berbers—the indigenous people of Barbary, who have preserved the distinction of their race and language—and the darker races from the interior of Africa, whose blood has commingled with that of the Arab and produced a mixed population of every grade of colour, have in the course of centuries become imbued with a *feeling* which is more Oriental and Asian than African.

The reason for this is fairly obvious. The Arabs swept westward across North Africa and conquered what is now Morocco to the extent that they were able to remain and occupy the fertile plains and less mountainous regions. They founded the cities and introduced Arabian civilization, which subsequently spread into Europe. They brought

with them the religion of Islam, with its culture, its chivalry, its political and social systems, and chiefly its great doctrine of the brotherhood of Moslems irrespective of race or colour. Islam, in fact, acted as a general solvent of differences, and became the broad basis of the life and spirit of the peoples to whom, in the aggregate, we refer as Moors. Among the indigenous Berbers, traces of their ancient paganism and superstition are still to be found, and Morocco has produced some strange sects, such as the Aissowi and Hamduchi, whose sanguinary rites provoke the disgust of rational and cultured Moslems quite as much as of Christians—even of those Christians who, forgetting parallel cases among Christian sects, have plausibly but illogically cited these weird and exceptional practices as evidence against Islam in general.

To the pure original doctrine and practice of Islam many things have been added in Morocco—saints and their shrines abound, and strong side-cults, tending to eclipse the simple essentials of Islamic faith, have sprung up. The Moors may indeed have borrowed the idea of saint-worship from Christendom, as a means of showing that the Christians had no monopoly of holy men whose exemplary lives should be perpetuated in the memory of the living by the devotees who act as guardians of their shrines.

It must, however, be admitted that there is a financial side to this matter, for the establishment of a saint's shrine creates a more or less valuable vested interest for its promoters and their successors.

Apart from these deflections, the grand outstanding principles of Islam have considerably guided and influenced the Moors, whose spirit of independence has been carried so far as to isolate them from the outer world and its progress, with the result that their independence has been virtually lost, and as a nation they find themselves in the melting-pot instituted by the representatives of modern civilization.

Possibly, as a nation, the Moors (since they were driven

out of Europe) have not merely *stagnated*, but have even *retrograded*. That they had retrograded beyond the possibility of redemption, I will not admit. They have not found good leaders, and they have not had fair play from outside. Under fair conditions, I believe that there was enough of their old national virtue left to enable them, in the course of a generation or two, to make up much leeway.

A deep-rooted suspicion of Europeans is in their blood—and who having studied their history and the record of their treatment at the hands of Europeans can wonder at it? To-day they may interweave with visions of their great and glorious past the painful conviction, *galling and insistently assertive*, that such suspicion was but too well-founded.

“Civilization,” *after almost inexplicable neglect*, has come to Morocco and the Moors! *Occidental Civilization in excelsis* has at last come to claim the near neighbour Morocco for its own! *Te Deum laudamus!*

Can there be any consolation to the Moors—many of whom retain their ancient pride and chivalry—to reflect on that day when their forefathers carried *Oriental* civilization and culture into barbarous Europe? or of the dignity with which their work was accomplished—the dignity of the simplicity in life, faith, and bearing, which is their inheritance even unto this day? or, if they have the power, to compare the methods of their forefathers with those of the *Roumis* who have recently taken charge of them and their country in the sacred name of CIVILIZATION?

How staggering the changes which have come about even while they have rested and dreamt for a period of nigh on five hundred years! Whether the Moors comprehend those changes and their meanings, or not, is of no importance: they are facts, stubborn facts which must be faced. *Mektub!*

Alas for the Moors! Though brave as ever, willing to fight and die for right and freedom as ever, it could no

longer be written of them that "the strength of the Moors lay in their perfect military discipline and absolute obedience to their generals."

So far have they retrograded apparently, that even the military instructions of Kaid Maclean (and the rest of them), the brass bands, blucher boots (and the rest of it), could make but very little impression on the raw material of to-day, which leads me to the view that the men have not changed so much as some suppose.

Is it not, rather, that the modern European methods of discipline and fighting have changed to such a degree that, *except at close quarters*, the Moor has about the same chance of winning a fight as a bull in a ring? The latter individual may perchance gore several horses and a toreador or two, but his end is certain: the *coup de grâce* will come to him.

And so to the Moors, who, with such disadvantage in armaments and lack of modern military science, are attempting to oppose the forces of the European interlopers. "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est par la guerre." *Mieux la pénétration pacifique*—n'est-ce pas?

The promoters of civilization *à la mode* are overflowing with benevolence, and burstingly anxious to bestow its "blessings" upon my friend and brother the Moor, and they are also in a deadly hurry to get through with their self-imposed task; because, however unselfish and pure their motives may be, the execution of their adventurous *duty* is—*parbleu!*—very costly, in men and money, in its initial stages. But even from this point of view, there are some minor compensations. Does not Morocco afford a splendid training-ground for the army, and give officers a chance to gain distinction and promotion? Moreover, here is a field for the creation of a large force of coloured men possessed of an inbred instinct for fighting, and which, *à l'avenir*, when the hour strikes, will be hurled against France's European enemies. Such a force might, however, prove itself "a double-edged weapon."

Let us now take an honest look at the "civilizing mission" of France and Spain in Morocco.

Stripped of all cant and sentimental boasting as to the noble aims of these countries, the bare fact remains that they (like England, Germany, Russia, Italy, etc.) are simply out for fresh lands and peoples to be exploited economically, with all that this implies.

The welfare of the Moors is the very last consideration. What the Moors eat, drink, or believe, does not matter. But the wealth of Morocco is to be exploited, and the Moors are destined to furnish the necessary labour for its extraction. Meanwhile, "law and order" has to be "established." Judging by Algeria, the day of complete pacification in Morocco cannot be less than two generations ahead. Shade of Abd-el-Kadr!

Ostensibly the noble and beneficent work is being carried out by the Sultan and the Maghzen (Moorish Government), under the guidance of French brains and with the co-operation of French military forces. The Sultan, who but a few short years ago was *theoretically* "an absolute despot," is now a French puppet, whose individual freedom is so restricted that he may only converse with a European after permission has been granted by the French authorities, and then only in the presence of a French officer.

It follows that the Ministers of State and principal Moorish officials, within the area of pacific penetration, are puppets like their pseudo-lord the Sultan, and hold their positions on French sufferance.

Let it be duly remembered, however, that when the late Sultan yielded to the French demands, he had only the *right* to speak for one-fourth of Morocco, as shown on European-made maps. The remaining three-fourths, consisting of free and independent clans, had neither voice nor part in the contract. These latter are the people who have now to be conquered and subdued in piecemeal fashion. The problem of their pacification is obviously a

very difficult one, and sporadic warfare may be expected for many long years to come. It is too much to hope that these freedom-loving sons of Adam will yield to the inevitable, and give in without a long struggle against the invaders, especially when they realize the methods by which they are deprived of their lands and property without compensation, and that on the top of all other wrongs they will be taxed to pay the price of their own subjugation.

Of course the puppet Sultan, without the powerful aid of the French, could not have even attempted, with any chance of success, to deprive them of their freedom and independence. Hence their forcible introduction into the melting-pot, invented by modern civilization, for simple and backward races, whose countries show fair prospects of a rich return on capital invested for their economical exploitation.

The usual evidences of civilization *à la mode* are especially visible in the coast towns—officials, whose salaries absorb most of the increase in revenue, are there in superabundance; public works are in progress, and many Western monstrosities in the way of buildings have been, and are, being perpetrated. The European and quasi-European population has rapidly increased, and the cost of living has doubled itself. Trade is booming in consequence, and, thanks to the firm and just intervention of Germany, the Open Door, for traders of all nations on equal terms, still exists. For which reason the old-established enterprises of the British merchants on the coast have not suffered so far, and Britain still leads in imports by sea.

Railways, roads, wireless telegraphy, telephones, electric light, motor-cars, the "English w.c.," and many other modern innovations, have duly arrived. Harbour works are under construction and in contemplation—I fear too much of the latter, for the first essential to the rapid development of Morocco in a satisfactory manner is the provision of safe harbours. Though the difficulties and the cost prove enormous, they must be met.

Other evidences of the new civilization are prolific in the European-inhabited towns, where drink-shops, brothels, and gambling-hells flourish apace. Whether these institutions will convince the Moor of the superiority of the Western interlopers, or fill him with a greater loathing for the ways of the Nasarani (Christian), time alone can prove. Other instances in history indicate that the vices of civilization are more easily assimilated than its virtues, and that the improvement of indigenous races on Western lines has meant improving them off the face of the earth. May we assume that we have herein concrete proof of the law of the survival of the fittest—vices notwithstanding?

Or, is civilization moving rapidly towards a new phase—perhaps a social cataclysm, from which humanity will emerge purged of the vast frauds and fallacies, those fetishes by which the vast majority of the human race are held in bondage and sweated by the few?

If the Moor will hold fast to that (of his own) which is good, his faith, his temperance, his family life, his simplicity of living, and general virility, he may come safely out of the ordeal of the melting-pot—sadder but wiser. It is hard to believe that the Moor will follow in the footsteps of the apostles of the Economic Era, and that he will abandon his allegiance to Allah to transfer it to Mammon and the selfish pursuit of pleasure and luxury. But, *quién sabe?* The world may witness far greater changes in the next fifty years than it has done during the past century. The accused may become the accusers, and the victims of violence, robbery, and oppression may become the reformers and the guiders of the world's future progress. The Moor, aroused from dreams of the past, may some day leap from the melting-pot and reclaim his inheritance from the subtle-brained pigmies in whose cunning toils he now finds himself so suddenly and hopelessly enmeshed. *Inscha allah!*



THE MEMOIRS OF SHĀH TAHMĀSP,  
KING OF PERSIA FROM 1524 TO 1576

BY H. BEVERIDGE

I FEEL grateful to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Colonel Phillott for having published these Memoirs in a separate form. A Persian gentleman, Muhammad Husain Khān, included them in a work which was lithographed at Teheran many years ago, and the late Dr. Paul Horn edited them excellently in the *Deutsche Morgenländische Zeitung* in 1890, but neither of these editions is cheap or readily accessible.

The Memoirs are brief, and somewhat dull and jejune, and Colonel Phillott is not wrong in saying that they are disappointing; but they are genuine, and they belong to a peculiar and important class of Oriental literature, that of the autobiographies of Muhammadan Princes, and are an interesting and even valuable contribution to Persian history. Certainly Tahmāsp was a far smaller man than the Emperor Bābur, and his life much less eventful, and so his Memoirs could bear no comparison with Bābur's, even if he had had Bābur's literary skill. Tahmāsp's one chance of writing a book not unworthy of Bābur's or Haidar Mīrzā's Memoirs was to have told his readers about his childhood and about his heroic father, Ismā'īl Safavī, who was by far the greatest man of the dynasty. But Tahmāsp says almost nothing

about his father, and he begins his autobiography with his own accession. In so beginning he may have been imitating Bābur, who begins by the statement that he became King of Ferghāna in the twelfth year of his age. But Tahmāsp should have gone on, as Bābur did, to tell us of his father, grandfather and grandmother, and of his brothers and sisters. Tahmāsp professes to be writing for the benefit of his dear children, and that they may thus possess a code of instructions for their guidance. Surely he could have told them much that was profitable and entertaining about that father who defeated Shaibānī the Uzbek, and who made so gallant a fight against the Sultan of Turkey. But Tahmāsp was a bigot, and a believer in dreams, and he tells us more about them than even about his own prowess in his early years. He was not devoid of good qualities. He was a good Muhammadan of the Shiah persuasion, and early abandoned the bad habits of drinking and drug-taking, and he abolished brothels in his dominions. He was also much attached to his sister, and behaved with great generosity to Humāyūn, the father of Akbar, when he came to his dominions as a distressed fugitive. It is a curious circumstance that Tahmāsp says nothing in his Memoirs about his hospitality on this occasion, which is, perhaps, the most creditable act of his reign. On the other hand, he describes in some detail his conduct towards Bajazet, the fugitive Prince from Turkey, which is generally regarded as the greatest blot on his character, and which, even on his own showing, was cruel and cowardly.

Much praise is due to Tahmāsp for the simplicity of his style. In this respect he is not inferior to Bābur. He begins, indeed, with an extravagant laudation of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, saying: "Were the ocean ink, the trees of the forest pens, the seven heavens folios, and all the Jinns and all mankind to keep on writing till the resurrection day, they could not record a thousandth part of 'Alī's merits." This is poor bombast in comparison with the words of St. John: "Many other things Jesus did,

the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books which should be written." But it is only a preliminary flourish, and the rest of the Memoirs is in plain prose, with the occasional interruption of a verse or a line of poetry, which is sometimes his own composition. Two or three of his pages are little more than a catalogue of names.

After saying that he succeeded to the throne in 930 A.H., corresponding to the year of the Ape of the Turkish cycle (A.D. 1524), when he was ten years of age, he adds that he was born in 920 A.H., in the Turkish year of the Dog (February 1515). According to the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī of Iskandar Beg he was born a year earlier, viz., in 919 A.H., while the Habibu's-siyār, which was written in his father's lifetime, gives 918 A.H. (March 1513) as the date of his birth. The contemporary historian Khwūr Shāh (Rieu's Cat. Or. 153, vol. i., p. 110) gives the same date as the 'Alamārāi, so it seems certain that Tahmāsp has given a wrong date, and that he really was born in 919 A.H. Even then, he was only ten years and two or three months old when his father died and he became king. He reigned for fifty-two years, dying in the second month of 984 A.H. (May 1576).

After giving the dates of his birth and accession, he proceeds to record the names of his principal officers. In doing so, he tells us that one of them, Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn by name, who had been his father's Vizier, did some improper acts, and was put to death by burning. According to the 'Alamārāi, p. 117, he was wrapped in a mat and then burnt. As Tahmāsp was but a boy then, he is probably not responsible for this murder, which the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī says was brought about by Deo Sultān. The unfortunate man was a poet, and Tahmāsp and the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī give a verse which he is said to have recited while being burnt. We are not told why such a horrid punishment was inflicted. Even if he had been accused of infidelity, punishment by fire was contrary to a precept of

Muhammad. Another man, who, according to Dr. Horn, was Jalālu'd-dīn's secretary, was also put to death.

Tahmāsp's troubles with his neighbours began early. The Uzbegs invaded his country three times, and twice laid siege to Herāt. In September of 1528, when he was only fourteen years old, he had a great battle with them near Tarbat-i-Jām. It resulted in a victory for the Persians, though Tahmāsp did not feel sure till the following morning that he had won the day. His account of the battle is simple and modest, and he says more about his dream on the following night, and the appearance to him of 'Alī, than about his own exploits. Bābur, who was of course pleased at the defeat of the Uzbegs, refers to the battle (Erskine's translation, 396), and Dr. Teufel justly remarks that Bābur's account is fuller and clearer than Tahmāsp's, though the latter took part in the battle. But there is one detail which Tahmāsp gives more correctly. Bābur understood that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh, the Uzbek chief and a nephew of Shaibānī, was killed, but Tahmāsp explains that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh was only wounded, and that the man who attacked him did not know who he was, and so passed on without killing him. Tahmāsp writes (p. 20) with great rancour about 'Ubaidu'l-lāh, who in Haidar Mīrzā's history appears as a hero and a model ruler. "I have neither seen nor heard speak of such an excellent ruler as he during the past hundred years. In the first place, he was a true Musalmān, religiously inclined, pious, and abstinent. . . . He wrote seven different styles of handwriting, he made several copies of the Koran, etc. He perfumed the world with the sweet breezes of justice and the scent of right dealing until the year 946 A.H. (1539), when he bade this transitory world adieu, and his pure soul passed to the regions of the blessed." This encomium may be partly due to the fact that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh was for a time Haidar's brother-in-law, but must be chiefly due to religious feelings. Haidar's sister was not long 'Ubaidu'l-lāh's wife, for she fell into other hands, and was eventually married to Sa'īd Khān. Tahmāsp

gives a very different character of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh. According to him, he was a great tyrant, and an accursed one, his special wickedness being that he spoke ill of 'Alī and said, while holding an orange in his hand, that no one could be a true Musalmān who did not cherish in his heart a hatred—"as big as this orange"—\*—against the husband of Fātima. In his wrath Tahmāsp says something of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh which Akbar and Abū'l-fazl would have regarded as high praise: "In his estimation a Musalmān and a Kāfir were equal."

After Tahmāsp, as he says, had cleansed Khurāsān from the impurity of the Uzbegs, he marched against Bāghdād and laid siege to it. The siege lasted a long time, and the weather was terribly hot, but at last the city was taken.

Tahmāsp had much trouble with his own brothers and with the Taklū clan. Apparently this was, in part at least, his own fault, for he sided with the rival faction of the Shāmlūs, and tried to exterminate the Taklūs. He succeeded in killing a great number of them, but one chief, 'Ulamā by name, escaped to Turkey, and was for many years a thorn in the side of Persia. Tahmāsp is scornful of him, and says he was originally only a Yasāwal, or lictor. His father, Ismā'īl, advanced him and made him Ishāk Agā, or Keeper of the Gate, and Tahmāsp made him Governor of Azarbāijān, in the year of the Leopard. At p. 16, in the description of 'Ulamā's enormities, we get a glimpse of Tahmāsp's endeavours to improve the arts and crafts of Persia. He had sent a number of girls (*kanīzān*) to Tabrīz to learn the art of embroidering under the craftsmen of that city, and 'Ulamā carried them off and distributed them among his followers. They were, however, recaptured.

One of the great troubles of Tahmāsp's reign was the invasions of the Turks. Solyman (Sulaimān) the Magnifi-

\* Kāmran, the brother of Humāyūn, improved upon this, it was said, by declaring that the hatred should be as big as a pumpkin (Akbar-nāma, translation, i. 537).

cent entered his country four times, with the result that Western Persia was for many years almost a desert. On the whole, the land was in evil case during the sixteenth century. Persia was pressed on the north by the Uzbeys and the Turkomans, and on the west by the Turks, and all these troubles were augmented by internal dissensions and rebellions within her borders. It has often been said that the Persians are the Italians of the East, and there are some singular analogies between the characters of the Italians and the Persians, and also between the fates of the two countries. If Italy was the Niobe of nations in the West, Persia was so in the East. Her two great drawbacks have been the hostility of her neighbours and her want of rivers. Religious differences added to her sorrows, for it gave the thieving Turkomans an excuse for man-hunting raids, as they chose to say that the prohibition against enslaving Muhammadans did not apply to Shiahhs. It is only in recent times that the much-abused Russian has put a stop to the trade in human flesh.\* Tahmāsp had either not the courage or had not the means to meet the Turk in the open field. The great disaster of his father at Chaldīrān in 1514 had sunk deep into his soul, and made him refuse all wager of battle. This refusal was probably in part the result of personal cowardice. His hypocritical excuse to Solymān, that he did not want to fight because the result would be to shed the blood of Muhammadans, does not tend to remove this suspicion. And yet it must be said for him that his policy of retiring before the invaders, and of making Western Persia a desert, was followed by his successor, 'Abbās the Great, who certainly cannot be accused of want of courage. 'Abbās even improved upon Tahmāsp's non-resistance policy, for he not only made the country waste, he also removed thousands of Armenians and others

\* It has been well said by Major Herbert Wood, in the preface to his "The Shores of Lake Aral": "Humanity owes to Russia the cessation of brigandage and slavery, which from the earliest historical times have been the scourges of the Oxus countries."

to the interior. It is to these evil times that Milton refers when he tells how the

“ Bactrian Sophi from the horns  
Of Turkish Crescent leaves all waste beyond  
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat  
To Tauris or Casbeen.”

It must, too, be said for Tahmāsp that he felt bitterly the pang of having to abandon his country and his people to the foreign foe. The most touching passages in his Memoirs are where he laments the necessity for retreat, and curses his once beloved younger brother Ilqās for the evils which his treachery had brought upon his native land. Ilqās' conduct, indeed, was so base as to justify his execution, and the only wish we have in the matter is that Tahmāsp had avowed the deed, and not attempted, like Aurangzib in a similar case, to ascribe Ilqās' end to a private act of retaliation.

At p. 22 Tahmāsp relates a wonderful dream which he professes to have had at a place three stages out from Herāt. He says that the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī) appeared to him, and laid three commands upon him. One was not to forget the business of a certain canal; the second was that, when he conquered Samarkand, he was to build for him there a mosque like that of the Imām Reza at Mashhad; and the third was to appoint an old servant of his father as guardian of the holy shrine. Tahmāsp also asked three questions of 'Alī about his campaign against the Uzbegs, etc., and received replies. Tahmāsp prefaces this account by saying that whatever 'Alī communicates in a dream “comes to pass.” But certainly this did not happen with one of 'Alī's directions, for Tahmāsp never took Samarkand, and consequently never built a mosque there.

At p. 43 there begins a long account of Tahmāsp's younger brother Ilqās, and of the proceedings which ended in his capture and death. Tahmāsp says that he had loved him more than all his other brothers or his own children. He had even lent 250 tomans to the Saiyids of

Mashhad to say prayers for Ilqās, and promised that he would not demand back the money so long as Ilqās lived. He then discusses the question of why Ilqās turned against him, and decides that one reason was because Ilqās had misconducted himself with a boy, and was afraid that Tahmāsp would hear of this and remove the boy, and punish himself. On this account Ilqās turned rebel and fled to Turkey. This statement seems to be another version of Ilqās' story that Tahmāsp had separated him from his beloved. After this Tahmāsp expresses horror at the evils that Ilqās' treachery has brought upon his country, for he ascribes the Turkish invasion to his instigation. In a passage (p. 54) which does honour to his feelings as a sovereign, he prays to God, saying: "Thou hast said that Thou befriendest the broken-hearted. I am sorrowful and broken-hearted on account of the sufferings of the helpless peasantry. It is an occasion for mercy. Save Thy mercy, there is no other help." "Thereupon I wept much, and on the same night the saint Shaikh Shihā bu'-d-dīn appeared to me, and said: 'This day all the Shaikhs have been in prayer for thee. Undoubtedly their prayers will be heard.'" "Four days after this, His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey left Tabriz in fear and trembling, and marched homewards." Previous to this, Tahmāsp had sent for the heads of all the villages, and told them that it was necessary to burn the crops, etc., in front of the Turks. He begged them not to blame him or to imprecate evil on him for this, and promised that he would make good their losses. Later on he tells us that, though the Turks robbed the peasantry of their goods, he was careful to carry his stores of sheep and fowls and butter with him. One day, however, he went out on horseback to catch some fish, as that was a lawful thing to do. When he came to the river-bank, he saw some twenty people approaching on foot. He sent a courier to inquire who they were and where they were going. They said they were villagers, and had been plundered, and that if



they remained where they were they would die of hunger. So they were going off to Diyār-bakr (Mesopotamia). "On this, I, sitting on my horse, cursed Ilqās, and wept over their distress." In another place he finds a number of Armenian children whom his people had made prisoners. He has them put into baskets and left at the foot of a fort. At last Ilqās is delivered up by one Surkh-āb Sultān, and is conveyed to the Castle of Almūt. Six days afterwards, on a Friday, when the guards were careless (perhaps they had gone to the mosque), two or three local men, whose father had been put to death by Ilqās, took vengeance on him by flinging him over the battlements. "After his death the world was at peace, and I determined with myself that henceforth I would only war with infidels such as Georgians and Circassians" (p. 64). After this, it must have come as an unpleasant surprise to be told by his ambassador that the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of Constantinople had decided that all the inhabitants of the East, whether soldiers, or peasants, or Musalmāns, or Armenians, or Jews, were on the same footing, and were lawful prey to the Turks, and that war against them was a holy war. "I said, 'this is a pretty decree ; we who have the prayers, and the Fast, and the Pilgrimage, and the tithes, and all the other essentials of the Faith, are to be counted infidels ! Let Almighty God judge between them and us !'" Some such surprise must the High Anglicans have felt when the Pope disallowed their Orders. At p. 67 *et seq.* Tahmāsp gives us some more of his dreams or visions. One that he beheld in 957 A.H. (1550) was of three moons : one in the east, one in the west, and one in the middle. The west one was very large, and the east one very small, and they were interpreted as referring to the Sultan of Turkey and 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Uzbek. The one in the middle represented Tahmāsp. The east and west moons sank to the earth, and the middle one slowly floated down like a piece of paper in the air until it settled on the carpet where Tahmāsp was sitting. He saw another vision in

961 A.H. (1554). This was of a parti-coloured scroll in the heavens. Some of it was dust-coloured, but that in the zenith was clearer, and like the emblazoned writing which is seen on European documents. The scroll was, he says,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  broad, and the writing on it was *Sir u nīm sir*. Colonel Phillott has found these words unintelligible, and Dr. Horn translates them by *dick und halb dick*. They are explained in the Bahār-i-‘Ajam and Vuller’s dictionaries as meaning partly crimson and partly pale red, “like the difference in greenness between the pistachio nut and grass.” Tahmāsp’s words are interesting, as they seem to show that he had scanned the letters addressed to him by Queen Elizabeth, and to his father by Charles V., though he treated Jenkinson, the Queen’s envoy, with contempt, and told him that he did not want amity with unbelievers. Anthony Jenkinson’s embassy was in 1561 (968-69 A.H.), and so took place about the time when Tahmāsp was writing his Memoirs. The ‘Alamārāi does not mention Jenkinson, but speaks of two embassies from the King of Portugal—one in 958 A.H. (1551), and the other in 982 A.H. (1574-75). Tahmāsp was displeased with this last embassy on account of the difference of religion, and of some interference with the mosques in Jarūn—that is, Ormuz—and it was not allowed to return till after his death. This happened in 984 A.H. (1576), so that the embassy must have remained at the Court for about two years. There ought to be valuable papers about this embassy in the Portuguese archives, for the envoys had plenty of time to make remarks.

At p. 74 of the Memoirs Tahmāsp tells us that the result of this Georgian campaign was the capture of 30,000 prisoners. What an amount of human misery is included in this sentence!

The Memoirs end with the story of Bayāzīd, the unfortunate younger son of Solyman the Magnificent. He quarrelled with his father and brother, rebelled and was defeated, and fled to Persia. Tahmāsp had promised that

he would not give him up to his father, and at first he treated him generously and with the lavish hospitality that he showed to the Emperor Humāyūn. But Bayāzīd would not, like Humāyūn, pretend he was a Shia, and behaved with arrogance and phlegm. The 'Alamārā's account is that, in passing through the crowds of welcoming spectators at his entry into Qazwīn, he never once raised his eyes from between his horse's ears. The result showed that he had good reason to be gloomy, for his host surrendered him to the agents of Solyman and Salīm, and allowed them to murder Bayāzīd and his four sons in Qazwīn itself. Tahmāsp tries to excuse himself by saying that Bayāzīd behaved badly to him, and even tried to poison him by offering to him deadly sweetmeats. He says he tried these comfits on Bayāzīd's servants, and that all who were made to partake of them soon swelled up and died. But his Persian panegyrists do not support this story. He also tries to salve his conscience by telling us that he expressed a wish to the Turkish envoys that Solyman would do no injury to Bayāzīd. As we have seen, they solved the difficulty that this request might have caused by executing all five prisoners there and then. It even seems, from Tahmāsp's language, that he wanted to exonerate himself from the charge of breaking his word to Bayāzīd by the paltry quibble that he did not give him up to Solyman, but to Salīm. He also stoops to the plea that he was ill at the time, the suggestion being that he was not in a position to know that the executions took place. Evidently his motive was to secure Solyman's friendship, and to prevent his country from being further ravaged. The last motive was good, but for Tahmāsp's gross hypocrisy and lying there is no excuse. And yet such was the adulatory spirit of his courtiers that quatrains were composed, extolling Tahmāsp for his dexterity and for his good fortune in having a calamity turned into a benefit. A chronogram was composed: "Five were lessened from the number of the Ottomans." The

“number of Ottomans” yielded according to *abjad* 974, and 5 being taken from this figure, the result was 969 A.H. (1561-62), the date of the executions. “O Shāh, thy good fortune surpasses the power of thanks. By thy wisdom and justice thy people have been preserved in peace. The heads of the enemies of the Faith have been cut off without thy sword.”

Tahmāsp's Memoirs end here. He reigned for many years after Bayāzīd's execution, but they were not marked by any striking events, except the conquest of Gīlān, and the occurrence of plague and famine. The last occurred in 979 A.H. (1571-72), and was very severe. The author of the 'Alamārāi has a chapter on the remarkable things that happened in Tahmāsp's reign, and one of them is that wheat on one occasion fell from heaven and supplied food to the people. Sir John Malcolm refers to the tradition of this event, and describes the shower as being of manna. In 956 A.H. (1549) there was a great earthquake in the district of Qāin, and some 3,000 people were killed. This occurred within the period covered by Tahmāsp's Memoirs, but he says nothing of it. Apparently he wrote his Memoirs chiefly for the benefit of his children, and did not tell them anything that they knew otherwise. His special design was to speak to them of the war with the Turks, and of his dreams and visions. The 'Alamārāi, speaking of the earthquake, says that a certain Qāzī, who was also an astronomer, foretold it to the villagers, but they would not believe him. He then went out into the fields with his family, and stayed there till midnight. His children suffered from the cold, and at their entreaties he returned to his house, and immediately afterwards he and all his family were overwhelmed!

Tahmāsp's book of Memoirs has been very little noticed by Persian writers. Probably most of them did not know of its existence. Their silence supports the view that Tahmāsp meant the Memoirs to be a private document for the use of his children. He did, however, send a copy

to his co-religionist, the Nizām Shāh of the Deccan, or at least he gave it to his envoy Khwūr Shāh. It was to the Nizām Shāh also that he sent the Koh-i-Nūr which Humāyūn had given him. Apparently he did not know its value, or despised it as a trinket.

As regards the bibliography of the Memoirs, it appears that they have never been published separately until the Asiatic Society of Bengal did so in the present year. They were included many years ago in Teheran in a publication by Muhammad Husain Khān, the Persian Minister of Education, which he called the Matla'ū-sh-shams (The Sunrising). Dr. Teufel contributed a valuable essay on them to vol. xxxvii. of the organ of the German Oriental Society in 1883, and in 1890 the late Paul Horn published an excellent edition of the text in vol. xlv. of the same work. He followed this up in 1891 by the publication at Strasburg of a German translation of the Memoirs, accompanied with useful notes. In preparing his text, Dr. Horn had the use of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's two manuscripts, which are the foundation of Colonel Phillott's edition. He also had Sprenger's copy of the Memoirs, and the Teheran lithograph.

Colonel Phillott states in his introduction that no copy of the manuscript of the Memoirs exists in the British Museum. This statement was correct at the time when Dr. Rieu's catalogue was prepared, but is not so now. The Museum has an excellent copy which once belonged to Tahmāsp's son, Muhammad Khudābanda.

# YÜAN SHĪ-K'AI AND HIS TASKS ONCE MORE

BY E. H. PARKER

THE native Chinese newspapers are a dreary waste of words about personal ambitions, local rebellions, and inane arguments. Certainly the Empire was more picturesque as to individuals, and not a whit more corrupt. Still, the inherent self-governing capacity of the plain, work-a-day people enables them (except in provinces overrun by bandits) to forge ahead with their trade, education, and railways; and no general or organic failure is to be recorded of the Republic as yet, except in so far as the "young China" parliamentary aspirants for power and pelf have utterly discredited themselves and had their wings clipped pretty closely. In a word, the inert and shapeless mass goes on living, and even thriving, out of mere "'olo custom," whilst the one man with gumption continues to hold the international situation at least fairly well together. Meanwhile the unstable mud and water fault of greedy and jealous *babudom* separating these so far impregnable strata seems to be doing its best to ruin the country. It will be remembered that, from the beginning, Yüan Shī-k'ai thought it a great mistake precipitately to abolish the dynasty; not that the dynasty, already hopelessly undermined by the incorrigible eunuch and petticoat palace influence and corruption, deserved much sympathy, but

because it was, so to speak, a habit. It was an orthodox link, even if a worn and rusty one, with antiquity in the unbroken chain of history, and there was no other chain yet sufficiently ready to replace the old one. Better, said he, to work constitutionally *through* the Manchus. He (under compulsion) got rid of the dynasty at last in a loyal and generous way, and he has been loyal and generous to it ever since. Thus he is rewarded by having Manchu sympathies, and (as a last resource, if it ever comes to that) even Manchu forces on his side in case his own Chinese troops prove ineffective or insufficient. It will be noticed that, amid the general abolition of titles, the Manchu garrisons at Kwei-hwa (N. Shan S.) and Ts'ing-chou (N. Shan Tung)—not to mention innumerable places in Chih Li such as the Tombs, the Summer Palace, and so on—are not abolished, and are in many cases even left under Manchu command, with the old Manchu titles. Nothing is ever heard now of the "Banner" or Manchu populations at Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Chinkiang, Kingchow (near Hankow), or Ch'êrztu (Sz Ch'wan). The soldier families at all these places always spoke the local dialects in addition to their own (more or less vitiated) Pekingese. Presumably, they have, like the late Mr. Bardell, "glided imperceptibly away," and quietly become a part of the ordinary local people, without any rice or money pension. Any native at a pinch can exist on five shillings a month in China, and every living person in that remarkable country is by temperament a "handy man," capable of earning at least that much, and of fending for himself as cook, tailor, etc. Even if they were all not so handy at living, in China no one makes much fuss about dying, whether it be by starvation or otherwise.

"Yüan Shi-k'ai, though successful with and trusted by the foreign diplomats, is by no means a backboneless milksop in their hands. He is that *rara avis in* (Chinese) *terris* a patriot, without being either a traitor or a partisan; an unscrupulous man (in the higher sense that Bismarck

was), without being in any way a self-seeker; a man of very easy "morals," without being exactly vicious; a shrewd and well-instructed man, without being a *grand seigneur* in manner or highly cultured in mind. The writer's own career, strange to say, has even been immediately affected by Yüan, whose manly and rugged honesty was experienced by him at first hand nearly thirty years ago. In fact, if the courtly and polished, but at the same time inane and vacuous, diplomacy of Europe had been as sensible and as honest as that of Yüan in 1886, it is quite possible, if not extremely probable, that there would have been no Sino-Japanese War in 1894, and no Russo-Japanese War in 1904. Yüan was not only able, but willing (so far as he had any say in the matter), to come to reasonable terms with both Russia and Japan at a moment when the United States were feebly represented and Great Britain was too busy, or floundering about at home in the "chow-chow water" of party changes to pay proper attention to Peking and Söul. But the chief actors in the wretched 1886 drama are dead now, and scarcely anyone survives who knows even half the truth, which Yüan at the time had the courage to write down with his own hand.

As the Chinese "blue books" (*i.e.*, Manchu Annals) for 1884-1894 are now published, it may be interesting to know what was Yüan's real position then in Korea. He *never* was "Resident" for a moment until 1887—*i.e.*, in the sense that Tibet had a Resident. He was never more than a *weiyüan* or removable "deputy" under Li Hung-chang, Viceroy at Tientsin, to whose exclusive care the foreign affairs of Korea were contemptuously intrusted by the Dowager and the Emperor's father, subject, of course, to his own memorializing the Throne in international or critical cases. Korea was left by Li Hung-chang absolutely independent to manage her own affairs, as she had from time immemorial been left. Thus in December, 1884, Yüan wired through Li about the attempted assassination of Min Yong-ik and the murders of other Korean Ministers.



Yüan was, in 1887, allowed to call himself a trade and diplomacy *ta-ch'en* (i.e., person of ministerial rank) in his correspondence with foreigners, but he always to the last had to "petition" Li Hung-chang as a petty subordinate masquerading for special purposes in *partibus infidelium* to "get face" with foreigners. At the end of April, 1887, Yüan recommended T'ang Shao-i, his assistant (then an obscure expectant of nearly the very lowest or the eighth nominal rank), for his services in connection with foreigners (i.e., amongst other things the *fâcheuse situation* of 1886 above alluded to), and in September a decree was issued by the Emperor approving Yüan's view, wired to Peking by Li, that Corea should not be allowed to send envoys abroad except with Chinese approval. Li specially mentions what British advice had been confidentially given to Yüan on that occasion. At the end of September, 1889, Yüan warned Peking (through Li of course) of an attempt to get at the King, and to bribe the Peking Board of Rites to dispense with the usual tribute missions (inferentially, of course, at Japanese suggestion). In October, 1890, Yüan was censured by the Emperor (through Li) for suggesting that the Korean "condolence envoy" had wired to the King from China an incorrect and abbreviated version of the Emperor's gracious decree. Perhaps Yüan had reason to suspect such tamperings from his 1886 experiences. At the end of September, 1892, on his way back from home leave, Yüan stayed at Tientsin for a day or two and concocted a plan with Li Hung-chang for "squaring the Germans," who had been inducing the King to squander Korean money on useless steamers. China arranged a 6 per cent. loan (in the name of Chinese "merchants," not of the Chinese officials) in order to enable the Koreans to pay off the inconvenient Germans. Interest at 6 per cent. was charged, not because Li wanted it, but because Yüan said the Koreans *must* be made to pay, or else they would go on borrowing and squandering again. In June, 1894, the King, alarmed by the Tonghak (i.e., "Eastern School," or

Japanese parts) rebellion in Chölla province, got Yüan to wire to China for troops to quell the rebellion. China, in sending troops at this urgent request, duly notified Japan through the Chinese envoy there (in accordance with a previous agreement with Japan). But Japan did not quite see things in that light; she sent troops too (in accordance with her view of the same treaty). The Tonghaks were soon defeated by the Chinese, but the situation was now a "tiger-riding" one for China, as the Japanese troops "ordered China to go." Li said to the Emperor, "We must either go on with the war vigorously," or "we must withdraw our army and send it back by steamers at once." Li himself thought the latter course more "correct." The Emperor did not want open war, and yet he did not like to "show weakness" by withdrawing troops before the Japanese did. He wanted simultaneous withdrawal. Whilst the Chinese Government were thus hesitating, the Japanese Generals were defeating the incompetent Chinese Commanders. On July 25 the Japanese men-of-war sank a Chinese transport under British flag as it was hurrying over with reinforcements; 700 Chinese soldiers were drowned.

This was the class of work Yüan had to do in Corea from 1884 to 1894, and thus in a way was sealed the fate of the Manchu dynasty. It made several spirited spurts, both before and after the "Boxer" fiasco of 1900, and even after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5; but it was really the Japanese War of 1904 that destroyed the dynasty and roused the Chinese national feeling. It was the "shrewdness" of Li Hung-chang in giving notice to the Japanese that troops *had* been sent, instead of giving notice to them *before* they were sent, that really caused that war. Thus perished all Yüan Shih-k'ai's schemes in Corea for his country's good; and it is thus that the man who ultimately had a hand in saving the Manchu dynasty from ignominious butchery had also a hand, if an unconscious one, in encompassing its destruction.

What Yüan Shī-k'ai has to do now whilst his conceited and foolish countrymen—especially the southerners—are wrangling about “rights,” “liberty,” “constitutions,” and indulging in other fanfaronades innumerable, is to save for the Republic as much as he can of the external situation. The internal situation is dangerous enough, in all conscience; but it can wait, for a few million Chinese raped and butchered in cold blood is a matter of minor importance from the point of view of Chinese main interests compared with foreign menaces and the murder of a single foreigner in hot blood. Manchuria is irretrievably gone so far as China is concerned. It may suit the Russians and the Japanese for the present to leave the three Chinese *tutuks* to amuse themselves by “administering” North, Central, and South Manchuria; but the rival railway systems are the true *tutuks*, and the matter must ultimately be arranged between the Russians and the Japanese. It is to be hoped that they will have the good sense to settle their respective rights by honest and straightforward negotiations, in friendly “conversation” with Great Britain, and not allow other interested Powers to weaken them and their respective friends or allies by involving them in a wasteful war. Both America and Germany had better keep out of the mess, which only concerns them remotely. America’s experiences in Corea are an example of how little mere “moral” force counts for. Meanwhile Yüan Shī-k'ai is doing the best he can to establish a new province in Inner Mongolia, west of Manchuria, with T'ao-nan Fu as its northern centre. It is not against the true interests of either Russia or Japan that China should strengthen herself here, or that American capital should be employed here. It is only natural that China should protect herself by running this wedge up between the desert and Manchuria; if she did not, this new province would be a swooping ground for the Mongols, and instead of becoming a useful buffer to China against all three, would inevitably become,

sooner or later, the battlefield of Russian and Japanese ambitions. As to Northern Mongolia, there is no use talking about it now—it has gone for ever so far as the Chinese are concerned; it is only a question of *when* it may suit Russia to move in as formal masters. It is to be hoped that she will have the good sense not to weaken herself, but to keep quiet until the European situation becomes easier and clearer; she is bound to need all her men and all her money in Europe within the next few years. But, even supposing her hands were free, it depends upon her own self-restraint and good sense in humouring and not browbeating the Mongols whether she is to have a million splendid and willing properly trained horsemen at her command, or whether she is to waste her resources—as the Chinese have done over and over again—in pursuing these mobile and elusive nomads over their own trackless and waterless deserts. Northern Mongolia never at any time really belonged to China, or was directly ruled by China. So far as it has, since 1650, *seemed* to be part of the Chinese Empire, it was entirely owing to the combined prowess and prudence of the pure Manchus. The special and exclusive Manchu lien on Mongolia has now been rashly severed. The Mongols knew the Manchus, and did not know the Chinese—*i.e.*, they knew and acknowledged considerate aristocratic masters with many favours to bestow, but always suffered at the hands of usurious Chinese trespassers, traders, and squatters with plebeian ideas of honour and courtesy.

As to Tibet, the situation is much the same as with Mongolia. Tibet knew the Manchus as tolerant masters, often their protectors; as, for instance, 150 years ago against Nepaul. They like Chinese tea, and will continue to have it, whatever may happen politically, for the Assam tea does not hit it off; but they loathe the Chinese trader, mandarin squeezer, and usurer. European, especially British, sympathy might well be with the Manchu dynasty, as indeed it was in spite of its shifty incompetence during

the Indian Expedition of 1904. And when the brilliant surprise conquests of Chao Êrh-fêng (who, of course, learnt a thing or two about Tibetan weakness from the British conquest) landed his lieutenant one fine morning unexpectedly in Lhasa, there was every chance for China to re-establish a reasonable suzerainty. But the whole Tibetan question, which has now been complicated by the P'ien-ma question, is now being threshed out at Simla, an ideal spot for keeping the ubiquitous press correspondent, Chinese or other, at arm's length—consequently we must “wait and see.” As to Sikkim and Bhotan, the Chinese “blue books” for 1874 to 1908 are now published, and it is made abundantly clear that (though Tibet had certain customary and purely complimentary relations with these buffer States, *never* in the least interfering with their internal government) China at no time, Manchu time or other, had the slightest direct claim to influence over either of those two States, and their rulers *never* received “seal and sash” or vassal “title” from the Manchu Emperor. Moreover, the Manchu (or Mongol) Resident, Shêngt'ai, who put up such a good diplomatic fight with British India over twenty years ago, tells the Emperor plainly in his voluminous correspondence that the Tibetan claims to Lingtu and other places in Sikkim were fraudulent, and the result of concocted maps; moreover, that the British claims were reasonable, that Captain Bower was a just man, even to the prejudice of his own personal interests, and that *Lan-sz-tun* himself (Lord Lansdowne) turned out to be a “very good sort of fellow” when visited at Calcutta by the Resident in person.

The “P'ien-ma question” just alluded to really means the right to the control of the Upper Irrawaddy, which runs down (from the Snowy Mountains of Tsarong in Tibet) in two main branches, called (in the Kachin language of Upper Burma) the Malikha and the Nmaikha, which join together a few miles above the new North Burma

Deputy Commissionership centre of Myitkina to form the Ta Kin-sha (Great Golden Sand), or Irrawaddy. Curiously enough, the Chinese also call part of the Upper Yangtze in that latitude the Kin-sha, or "Golden Sand." The Salween and Mékong Rivers run down from Tibet into Burma and the Shan States *between* these two rival "Golden Sands," and when we took Upper Burma in 1885-86, neither we, nor the Chinese, nor, in fact, anyone else, exactly knew where the head waters of the Nmaikha were, and whether the Upper Salween was one of the Brahmaputra branches, or was in some mysterious way connected with the Nmaikha. However, in 1895 Prince Henry of Orleans, who crossed the whole of these six rivers from east to west, established clearly that the source of the Nmaikha *must* of necessity be in the lofty mountains clearly visible about fifty or sixty miles north of the point (about Lat. 27°40') where he crossed it. It was reserved for the charming *raconteur*, M. Jacques Bacot, in 1909, when travelling along a small by-road, actually to stumble across the first icy tricklings of the Nmaikha as it emerged from the glacier in the Lagen La, at a height of 16,000 to 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, as nearly as possible in Lat. 28°40'. It did not strike him until the next day that the mysterious and elusive river he was then following at different moments was the same as the insignificant rill he had struck the day before; still less that it was the long-sought-for extreme source of the Nmaikha. But it was, and this extreme source is known locally as the K'iu River, or River of the K'iu aborigines, where Captain Pritchard was drowned. It is also called the Tarong, and it runs down through independent "savage" territory, being separated all the way down its course from the Salween by a continuous lofty, precipitous mountain range, known to the Chinese as the Kaolikung, which range thus forms an absolutely natural and perfect boundary between British Burma and Yün Nan province, crossed by no Chinese trade route north of Tali Fu (unless it be a salt-smugglers' road

from Wei-si). The Salween takes its rise in Tibet, but a small branch of the Salween takes its rise a short distance west and even a trifle south of the Nmaikha-Irrawaddy source, but on the other or Tibetan side of the heights, at a place called Tila La; that is, this unlooked-for Salween branch sweeps north-eastwards *around* the source of the Eastern Irrawaddy, thus explaining clearly why the Upper Salween and the Upper Irrawaddy have always been confused together by occasional travellers in those remote regions. Captain Bailey went over much the same ground in 1911, but he passed south-west of the Lagen La source, and never saw it, as he followed yet another small source of the Nmaikha, called the Tarawan.

Besides the Chinese "blue books" (Manchu Annals), which record the negotiations touching the Burmese frontier between 1885 and 1908, and more especially those between Lord Rosebery and the Chinese Minister, Sieh Fuh-ch'êng in 1894, there is also full information to be gained from the native Chinese press which has quite recently published a *précis* of the whole Sino-British correspondence concerning the Hpi-maw or P'ien-ma question, including all the more important personal interviews at Peking with Sir Claude Macdonald, Sir Ernest Satow, Mr. Max Müller, Sir John Jordan, etc., and giving full particulars as to names of places, tribes, etc., in the contested Nmaikha region. P'ien-ma chief village itself (there are really five of them) is a little north (Lat. 26) of the direct high road from Ta-li Fu, across the Mékong and Salween rivers to the country of the Lissu "savages," and to a small river (tributary to the Nmaika, flowing east-north-east into it), called the Ngaw-chang Kha, or the Chinese Siao Kiang. The Chinese have always been anxious to possess navigation rights, even if only for "face" sake, over the Nmaikha, and thus over the main Irrawaddy down to Rangoon. But, just south of the above-mentioned Tali Fu high road, the Kaoli Kung range throws off a spur to the west, sometimes called the *Kaoliang*

Kung. The Chinese attempt to juggle diplomatically with this word and *Kaoli* Kung. All the maps, Chinese, Burmese, and European, mark the Sino-Burmese frontier, including the historical frontier gates, as being south of or at this Kaoliang Kung (*or* Kaoli Kung branch) watershed, which watershed divides off the Nmaikha from the admittedly Chinese Upper Shwe-li, Upper Taping, and Upper "Tahor" rivers. Moreover, every one of the Peking negotiators *on both sides* seems to have overlooked the important fact that Article 12 of the Rosebery-Sieh Treaty of 1894 expressly stipulated that, in return for certain British concessions in the Wan-ting and Kokan region (south-west of Bhamo), the Chinese would withdraw all claim to the "interstitial territory" (*K'ih-ti*) outside the Momein frontier—*i.e.*, precisely all claim to the P'ien-ma aboriginal district they are making such a fuss about now. The Yün Nan Viceroy, Li King-hi, nephew of Li Hung-chang, was the man who, to Prince K'ing's disgust, raised the great P'ien-ma hullabaloo in 1910-11. He was, however, summarily ejected by the republicans in the winter of 1911-12, and escaped via Tonguin to Japan. He is now Yüan Shih-k'ai's President of the Government Council, and also President of various other schemes at Peking—undoubtedly a very able and persistent man. Probably it is he who has sent all the correspondence about P'ien-ma to the native press, in order that Mr. Ivan Chên (Chên I-fan, the Chinese Commissioner at Simla) might have his hands strengthened by "public opinion"; but there is no public opinion on the subject in China apart from the traders of Ta-li Fu and Momein (*i.e.*, the treaty-"port" of T'êng-yüeh). Moreover, the whole population of the Upper Salween, even in Li-kiang Fu and other genuinely Chinese places, consists of Tibetans, Shans (*Minkia*), Mossus (a peaceful Tibetoid tribe, with a hieroglyphical literature of their own), and Lissus (robber tribes mostly), none of whom do any caravan trade with the Irrawaddy basin. The chief danger to British India, if we



are foolish enough to give way, is the activity of the French in the Atuntse, Yetche, and general Upper Mékong region, where both travellers and missionaries are very industriously working. What with French railways and French "destiny" along the Mékong, they are certain sooner or later to make Franco-Chinese economic claims, unless we keep "all hands off" the Kaolikung watershed right up to Tibet.

Here, then, we have set before us Yüan Shih-k'ai's tasks in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet, quite apart from the internal troubles caused by "White Wolf"; the personal dissensions amongst his own chosen lieutenants; the selfish intrigues of the crazy Canton cabal headed by Hwang Hing and Sun Yat-sen; the obstacles placed in the way of Sir R. Dane by the local governments; the eager offers of money by syndicates "on the make"; the instability of all the armies; the tightness of money; the hesitancy on the part of the provinces to send revenue to Peking; and the clamourings of offended Powers for "compensation" and "satisfaction." Truly the poor man has his task before him with a vengeance. But, like Lord Salisbury the elder when he shut himself up to work in peace and quietness at Hatfield, he says: "A man can only do a certain amount of work a day;" and, again like old Lord Salisbury, he bravely attempts to accomplish day by day what little he can, ignoring the howls of the *profanum vulgus* outside.

## THE INDIAN PERIL

BY IGNOTUS

UNDER this heading the *Times* has recently published a series of articles. The sub-heading of the last, which appeared on December 23, is "Duty and Policy of the Government." The writer emphasizes the necessity for combating any appearance of weakness in the British Raj. More especially is this of supreme importance in all that appertains to the administration of justice. Nor does he entertain any doubt as to the forces that are really hostile. "There is ample scope," he assures us, "for work which will benefit and uplift the toiling millions, but will never be pressed and may be strongly opposed by the lawyer politicians who pose as friends of the people." Considering the great and increasing influence of the legal caste in our Eastern dependency, the forecast that they will prefer their own interest to that of the toiling millions is very likely to be justified, and is all the more disquieting because they pose as friends of the people. Well we know that pose! It comes from the West. We recognize the voice of the Bar Council. They strenuously opposed the County Courts Bill (which was so ably supported by Lord Loreburn, Lord Gorell, and others) on the ground that "it would reduce the efficiency of the Bar in the service of the public." That is the sort of service which Mephistopheles

rendered to Faust.\* The author of the article is outspoken as to the outcome of the veiled hostility of the lawyer politician. "There are parts of India," he tells us, "in which the primary duty of guarding life and property is not now adequately discharged, and some native states can show a higher standard of security than some British districts."

The explanation of this disastrous condition is immediately forthcoming; it is the true inwardness of the Indian peril: "The judicial system urgently needs to be overhauled. Established with the best of intentions, it operates in certain respects with real hardship upon a natural litigious people easily exploited by the superfluity of pleaders, and it too often fails to secure justice. 'Inexplicable acquittals,' wrote our most acute foreign critic, 'encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race.'"

The authority to whom the writer of the *Times*' article gives this testimonial is M. Joseph Chailley, member of the French Chamber of Deputies. There is an admirable translation of his work, "Administrative Problems of British India," by Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E. A careful perusal of Chapters IV. and V.—and they are the most important portion of a great work—will convince any unprejudiced reader that India has found in M. Chailley not only a remarkably acute, but a very friendly critic.† While admitting that we have made colossal errors, he says: "One is led to ask whether any other nation would have done better, or would even have sought to avoid the mistakes committed."

Our critic's prediction that things would grow worse has been realized to the letter. The subject is deserving of fuller treatment than was accorded to it in the leading journal. The history of the process under whose influence

\* "Moi, je suis Méphisto,  
Serviteur fidèle" (*Le Petit Duc*).

† An interesting article by this gentleman appears on page 17 of "Truths about India."

upright and honourable men can be found to pervert the function of the judge and countenance inexplicable acquittals which encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race, is assuredly a question of paramount interest. It betokens an insidious peril of no common order; a debilitating atmosphere; a deceptive environment.

Our author is lavish in praise of our untiring efforts to provide India with adequate Codes. And rarely, indeed, have lawgivers been confronted with a task presenting such vast and varied difficulties. "After the difficulty of enacting good laws," says our author, "comes the difficulty of finding good judges; and that is one of the most delicate problems which a ruling country has to deal with in a dependency." Home predilections in the form of infatuation for the jury system are a fertile source of uncertainty, delay and appeals. "A jury's opinion has to be accepted, unless the judge thinks fit to submit the case to the High Court, or other principal court of the province. Juries vary in number from three to nine, and it is often difficult to procure good and impartial juries, especially in cases where the accused is a Brahman, or a person of high position."

It is well known and thoroughly understood among our Continental neighbours that the greatest encouragement to litigation is uncertainty. When that condition prevails, a reference to a court of law assumes the attractive character of a gambling transaction. The worst possible cause has a chance of winning. The increase of litigation in India is a portentous feature. "In 1877 the tribunals of British India had to deal with 1,400,000 suits; in 1901 the total number of suits was 2,200,000. Nor are these large figures due to litigants receiving encouragement in the shape of facility and cheapness of procedure." On the contrary, fees are inordinately high; but the fact does not counterbalance the fascination of a game in which everyone hopes to win. "The complicated procedure which was formerly confined to the principal courts of the older provinces, has now penetrated everywhere, and brings with it complicated and

dilatory formalities which are regularly enforced by the judiciary. Macaulay, when he was in India, described the Supreme Court of Calcutta as the most costly in the world; and the costs of justice throughout British India are still very heavy. On every suit that comes before the courts the Government levies duties in the shape of stamp fees, which amount to from 6 to 8 per cent. *ad valorem*; so that with pleaders' fees and other costs the litigants must pay from 12 to 13 per cent."

Here we may well ask how it comes that the Government of India has nothing to learn from the valuable experience of our French and German neighbours, who have proved beyond the possibility of doubt that it is the certainty of the incidence of judicial decisions which tends to diminish litigation even when the courts are accessible to a degree unimagined in this country or in India. Cheapness does not encourage litigation, nor does great expense diminish it against other countervailing attractions. Our system has the twofold vice of excluding the poor but honest suitor and attracting the rich oppressor. Notwithstanding patent facts well known to all the world, such is the ascendancy of the legal profession in this country and in India that an exploded heresy is still accepted as orthodox doctrine. "The Government," says our author, "consoles itself for its relative powerlessness by the idea that dear justice prevents suits, and those of its officers who come into contact with the people are recommended to make them understand that litigation is ruinous and should be avoided." The people do not accept this reasoning, and an opinion is being gradually formed which is by no means favourable to British justice. "It is not the usurers," it is said, "who are ruining the country, but the courts with their fees, their pleaders, and their procedure. Matters have been arranged in the interest of the rich\* whose

\* "By these dilatory and expensive proceedings the wealthy litigant obtains more certain advantage than he could hope for from the accidental corruption of a judge" (Gibbon).

money can insure them the best lawyers and a favourable judgment." So much for the profound demoralization produced under the ægis of Government by the money test.

Another factor which aggravates the mischief by fomenting litigation and increasing appeal is our letter-worship : our enslavement to correct form in disregard of substantial justice. Exactly a century before our author's sojourn in India, we find the elder Mill putting this statement on record : "Although we possess force sufficient to exterminate every human being in a district where dacoit robberies are rampant, it is impossible to obtain convictions owing to the loopholes found by lawyers." It is lamentable to note that in the year 1910 this grave statement is recorded by our author : "The following figures for the Punjab show the increasing proportion of persons condemned to death by the Lower Courts who were acquitted by the Chief Court there. In 1867 the percentage was only 4 ; in 1880 it was 7 ; but in 1900 it had reached 14." The means of egress from the legal net can no longer be described as meshes, nor even loopholes. They are folding doors that open outwards under the slightest pressure. A trifling defect of form in the indictment or procedure is sufficient to secure acquittal. Our author continues : "A very intelligent native magistrate in the west of India wrote as follows, in March 1900, on the subject of offences which the official report on the administration of justice had classed as undetected : 'It is only technically that such cases can be classed as undetected, for the people know perfectly well who has committed these crimes and for what motive.'" The High Court sustains the objections of the Bar : throws out indictments that are defective in the smallest particular and orders acquittals and fresh trials right and left. The consequence is that, "the inferior tribunals, in turn, set up like exigencies, with the result that criminals profit and public security is menaced. The magistrates, and especially the native magistrates, are indignant ; and the executive, at any rate in the more

advanced provinces, asks for remedies. It is supported in this by the bulk of native opinion but not by the Babus, by the men of the University and the Bar, or by the Radical party in England; and the evil will consequently increase."

Considering that Calcutta is second only to London as a stronghold of the Bar, the prediction was eminently safe; and as we have remarked above, it has been justified to the letter. The progressive demoralization has been alarming. On July 23 1912, we find the leading journal declaring that: "The working of the Chartered High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court, has been a secret ulcer in the Indian administration for more than a century. And nowhere have the symptoms been more virulent than in Calcutta." The nearer the citadel of the Bar, the farther from justice.

When we are told by a responsible writer in the leading journal that "some native states can show a higher standard of security than certain British districts," it is surely time to rid our minds of cant and our atmosphere of the incense which is such a marked feature of all great occasions when Bench and Bar fall on each other's necks and proclaim the unequalled excellence of English justice. Our judicial system, says the writer of the article on "The Indian Peril," stands in urgent need of being overhauled. Our most acute foreign critic has little hope of improvement; on the contrary, he is pessimistic. "To-day," he says, "the Government would condemn itself and all that it has done for the last fifty years, if it were to simplify the procedure which it has deliberately evolved, while it would at once rouse the strong opposition of the most vocal element in the population, the lawyers and the so-called educated classes. . . . The High and Chief Courts have stereotyped a jurisprudence which rests on the strict and literal interpretation of the law. In the older provinces this evil is irremediable: legality and formalism have triumphed, and the people are resigned."

There we perceive the Indian variety of the "strict con-

structionism" which is responsible for the appalling lawlessness of the United States. This is a recent description of existing conditions by a high authority: "It is startling to hear American statesmen who have held posts of supreme responsibility passionately denouncing the administration of criminal law as a disgrace to their country."\* Not less startling is it when we find competent observers, like those cited above, declaring that our prestige is being ruined by grave judicial defects in India.

"Strict constructionism" is a disease of law which originated in this country. It is still rampant here, but it occasions little comment. Under other skies it has become a dangerous instrument, which is being manipulated for our discomfiture. No moral stigma attaches to its indulgence. It is an intellectual ailment from which the most upright and honourable men enjoy no immunity. According to the late Mr. Lecky, "there is a sort of mind that grows so enamoured of the subtleties and technicalities of the law that it delights in the unexpected and unintended results to which they lead. I have heard an English judge say of another long deceased, that he had, through this feeling, a positive pleasure in injustice." Our readers will suggest that this is an extreme case. We agree, but the environment producing the extreme is obviously most prejudicial to a keen sense of justice; and we may be excused for regarding its average product with profound mistrust. The environment is that of the Bar. The Bar in India is resolutely, unalterably opposed to simplifying and cheapening procedure. "Strict constructionism" is the chief asset of the Bar. The whole miscellany of uncertainties, blunders, defects of form, increase gambling chances and bring grist to the Bar. "The heads of the Bar," M. Chailley tells us, "make great fortunes and may earn up to Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000 a month in a city like Calcutta or Bombay, while even in places of less importance their earnings are large enough to give point to the saying

\* Lord Morley's "Notes on Politics and History," 1913.



of the peasants of the Punjab that there are three great eaters of the profits of the land: the Treasury, the money-lender, and the lawyer."

Nor must it be imagined that the arrangement of our judicial system depends upon the evidence of two witnesses: an anonymous writer and a foreign observer. There is a cloud of witnesses of undoubted authority. Our space will only permit us to call three. The first in order of date is Mr. Carstairs, I.C.S., the author of "*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*" (1912). "A most discouraging feature," he explains, "is our singular want of success in getting anyone punished for the crime of dacoity. We had a judge prone to acquit. If I remember rightly, he acquitted in every case sent up except one, and in the one case where he convicted the accused were let off on appeal to the High Court. . . . When we saw the reasons for acquittal, it did seem as if no mortal evidence would have satisfied the Higher Courts. . . . Dacoity went on, impunity emboldened criminals, and the crimes ceased to be reported. For what did a reported case mean? To the victim, trouble and no satisfaction; to the police officer, a bad mark for a crime undetected, or for a case sent up and acquitted; to the committing magistrate, the disgrace of having believed evidence he ought not to have believed. The victims and the police, then, were alike interested in suppressing the facts, so that we might have—and I think we sometimes had—tranquillity on paper and a reign of terror in the villages."

Can we wonder at the increase of lawlessness and the powerlessness of police and magistrates under a system where the Bench (one in training, sentiment, and sympathy with the Bar, its progenitor) orders acquittals wholesale if Western chicane and Oriental astuteness can find a flaw in the indictment, an oversight in the procedure, or a contradiction in a witness's evidence? The Indian Peril proceeds from a régime of sophists.

"The authority of the Indian Civil Service has been

partly undermined by the Calcutta High Court," wrote Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the *Times* of October 7.

"The courts are but collecting-agencies for money-lenders. The people despise them." That is the opinion of Mr. Fielding Hall after a lengthy sojourn in India, given in the *Nineteenth Century* for October.

In these untoward phenomena one and all, we perceive the effacement of the Bench and the proportionate strengthening of the Bar. Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., is under no illusion on this point. We find him writing in the October number of the *Contemporary*, "The Bar in India is daily becoming stronger than the Bench." Precisely the same phenomenon is observed in the United States. The Bar is quietly devouring its unreluctant children.

The testimony of all these unimpeachable witnesses indicates beyond the possibility of doubt that the Indian Peril is due largely, if not chiefly, to the grave defects of a judicial system which keeps this country—its home—a full century and a half behind our Continental neighbours in all that conduces to the cheapness, certainty, and accessibility of justice, and which is producing in the United States—the land of its adoption—disastrous results bearing the strongest possible analogy to those observed in our Eastern dependency.

These defects are, briefly, a mistaken attachment to the jury system; high court fees, which render justice inaccessible to those who most need protection, and offer overwhelming temptations to unjust, oppressive, and gambling litigants; a Bar-trained Bench, indefensible in theory, a mode of recruiting the judiciary condemned by practical experience. It is unnecessary to labour the outstanding and inevitable outcome, "a waxing Bar, a waning Bench," with all that such a condition connotes in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. As regards this country, one feature may be mentioned. Our

backwardness in legal matters as compared with our neighbours is directly traceable to the common interest—the vested interest—of Bar and Bench. As thus: the Bar naturally makes a fetish of Common Law and is unalterably opposed to an adequate scheme of codification, the great cheapening influence among our neighbours; the Bar endeavours continually to raise the scale of fees and succeeds to its heart's desire. When we are reminded that the natural proclivities of the Bar must not be visited upon the Bench, which is absolutely neutral and stands above all such manoeuvres in icy aloofness, we are constrained to point out that a conclusive answer to this objection is the state of our legal chaos at this moment. *The traders of one generation who opposed codification and made a corner in justice were the judges of the next generation.* Those who oppose codification to-day are judges to-morrow. In this way a minimum of progress with a maximum of regard for the vested interest of the Bar is assured, and our legal system is doomed to relative, if not absolute stagnation. The true criterion of progress is not a reference to conditions which Lord Brougham denounced as the worst in Europe, but the notable advance made by our neighbours, whose garnered experience our legal mandarins affect to despise.

The Indian Peril is indubitably grave. But it is notorious that our public can only think of one subject at a time. And the Home Rule question leaves little thought for any other. Moreover, the public apathy to legal subjects at home is wellnigh insurmountable. Hence a worthy measure of attention to such subjects as affecting India is out of the question even were surrounding circumstances more favourable. For vested interest, however, the opportunity is tempting. Symptoms are not wanting that a strong movement is being engineered with the cry, "Complete Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions." This slogan has just that appearance of consistency which masks its real purpose. That purpose is to throw

the blame of the present discontent on the alleged defective legal knowledge of those occupants of the Bench who are not under the ægis of the Inns of Court. As these Inns are now the effective Government of this country, there is no little probability of this movement achieving success even in the face of the experience of ourselves and the equal and opposite experience of our neighbours. A few fuglemen of the Bar are already recommending a course which will aggravate the Indian Peril. Their remedy is well known to the toper. It is "a hair of the dog that bit him."

## A JAPANESE CONCEPTION OF TRUTH

BY FELIX RUDOLPH

## I

KINZE RINGE HARAI came  
 From Japan's far distant land,  
 To Chicago's city sent,  
 By his brethren's fond command,  
 To the world's great Parliament  
 Of Religions sitting there,  
 Where, he found, together met,  
 Eager each therein to share,  
 Men of varied race and creed,  
 Each one meeting some soul's need.

## II

Long and eloquently spake  
 Of his people's ways, and then  
 Said the world misjudged them sore,  
 When it deemed his countrymen  
 Worshipped gods their hands had made—  
 Finished thus his glowing speech :  
 "As regards man's differing faiths,  
 I will tell you what we teach  
 By a simile so clear,  
 All may understand who hear.

## III

“ When the moon’s pale radiance falls  
Softly o’er earth’s sleeping face,  
And old ocean, lovingly,  
Folds her in a fond embrace,  
Watchers, dotted on the shore,  
Gazing seawards, from the strand,  
Each will see a path of light,  
Face the spot where he may stand,  
Right athwart the waters thrown,  
Broadening outwards, like a cone.

## IV

“ And, because each only sees  
Just one rippling, radiant ray,  
Like a shaft of shimmering sheen,  
O’er the darkened waters play,  
He thinks all else sunk in shade ;  
Loudly to his fellow calls,  
‘ Brother, why stay in the dark ?  
Here alone the moonlight falls ;  
Here alone, along with me,  
You the moonlit waves may see.’

## V

“ Inland, on a lofty peak,  
Gazing, from its height, below,  
Stands one watching, and he sees  
All the watery plane aglow,  
Glittering with reflected light.  
And he knows the moonbeans fall  
Not in isolated rays  
Here and there, but over all  
Ocean’s rugged, restless space,  
Lighting it with silvery grace.

## VI

" These views, seen by differing eyes,  
Seen from varied standpoints too,  
Cannot *one* of them be false ;  
*All* are relatively true.  
Most times low upon the shore,  
Bathed in its own special ray,  
Rarely can the soul take wing  
To some Pisgah far away,  
Whence it sees with raptured sight  
All rays merged in one great light."

## THE ANDAMAN PENAL SYSTEM

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.,

Formerly Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

I HAVE frequently had occasion during the last twenty years to discourse publicly on the Penal System at the Andamans, and my excuse for returning once more to the subject is that I understand that the system is again in the melting-pot, owing to ideas as to the treatment of the convict which have been vigorously propounded of late, and are, by reason of novelty, thought to be the best by only too many people. It seems to me, therefore, to be opportune to look back once again into the history of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, and consider the growth of the system it represents.

There are certain things which the man in the street—urged thereto in democratic countries by his voting power—thinks he is qualified to do without any training. Such are the control of public affairs, the conduct of war, the administration of public services, and so on, and last but not least for the present purpose the management of prisoners and convicts. Every now and then he rises in his multitudes and takes up a subject of this kind with an enthusiasm which is often born of some opinion or view fashionable for the time being, and in the ardour of his pursuit thereof he invariably throws experience and history overboard, because of his hurry to do good. Convicts, being a perfectly helpless portion of humanity,



are peculiarly exposed to the consequences of the fads of the day, and it is probably not generally realized how entirely dependent on temporarily current popular ideas is the sort of time that any given convict has during his period of incarceration.

As one who has had the responsible charge of Port Blair for ten years, and has for an equal period since retirement kept up an interest in convict systems, I have watched many plans proposed and partially carried out on the body of the convict, and cannot help wondering, as I go over the experiments in my mind, how many of them are likely to have been beneficial. Very few of them seem to the student of experience to have been based on an historical knowledge of the subject. I do not claim to be any longer behind the scenes, but I understand that certain philanthropic representations have been impressed on the Government of India to an extent sufficient to make it dissatisfied with the whole existing penal system of the country, including that of Port Blair, as being insufficiently reformatory. So there is likely to be a fresh effort to introduce a system that shall, while recognizing that there are irreclaimables, make the bad good and the good better; the irreclaimables being graded off into degrees of irreclaimability. All this means that the notions of some one or other of the modern reforming schools of criminologists has got a grip on the official mind, and the school is to be given a chance of having its wicked way at the expense of the Port Blair convict. I say its "wicked" way advisedly, because students with practical experience know that criminology as a science is still in that dangerous condition, in which theories are being threshed out previous to getting into a fit state for practical application. Indeed, the extremely doubtful value of the present theories of the reforming criminologists has lately been well brought out in a new level-headed work on the subject—Heinrich Oppenheimer's "*Rationale of Punishment.*"

However all this may be, the point for the present purpose is that if the Government has become obsessed with the idea of reform in a particular direction, it will proceed with the reform, whatever experts and experienced thinkers may say, and all that is possible practically is to try and bring certain matters to its notice. It is, therefore, worth while, on the part of those who care to think over such matters, before swelling the hazy crowd which form what all governments love to call "public opinion," to dwell for a while on the history of Port Blair and its system. They can then see what good there is, from the reformatory point of view of the situation, in the existing penal system ; how long it has been in existence ; what measure of success it has attained ; and what justification there is for drastic change.

Let me commence my remarks on these points with a little history. The Andaman Penal System is *sui generis*, has grown up on its own lines, and has been gradually adapted to the requirements of a penal settlement covering a large area of grazing and arable lands, swamps, dense forests, considerable hills, large harbours and inlets of the sea, in which are situated villages for ticket-of-leave convicts, ex-convicts, and free persons, as well as convict-stations, workshops, and gaols. This system has also been independent of, and was never at any time based on, the Indian prison system, and has been continually under development for over a hundred years. The fundamental principles on which the system is founded are now substantially what they were originally, and have stood the criticism, the repeated examination, and the modifications in detail of a century, without material alteration.

By direct unbroken historical descent the governing principles of the modern Andaman Penal System are derived from those of the Straits Settlements, which in their turn were those of the old Indian penal settlements system. This last was in its inception a new departure in the treatment of prisoners, its salient features being still

those of the Andamans—viz., the employment of convicts in any place desired on any and every kind of labour necessary to a self-supporting community, their control by convicts selected from amongst themselves, and permission to marry and settle down in the Penal Settlement after a given period. It arose thus : Indian convicts were at first transported to Bencoolen, in Sumatra, in 1787 to develop that place, then under the Indian Government. At Bencoolen the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, drew up a despatch in 1818 to the Government, explaining the principles he had already successfully adopted for their management, and in 1823 he sent the Government a copy of his Regulations. In 1825 Bencoolen was ceded to the Dutch, and the convicts there were transferred to Penang and Singapore. Sir Stamford Raffles took his Bencoolen Rules for the Management of Convicts with him, and these, with modifications, were applied by him to Penang and Singapore with further modifications, advisedly introduced into the Andaman Penal Settlement, on its foundation in 1868 by General Henry Man, who had been a-Superintendent of Convicts in the Straits Penal Settlements. The subsequent history of the Andaman Penal Settlement is merely one of official development by constant amendment.

What have we here, then? A special method of managing convicts of many varieties unconnected with any other system, originally elaborated by the genius of a man, who had previously long watched men undergoing transportation on no conscious basis of treatment, and subsequently maintained with amendments by men of understanding for over a hundred years. The very names of those identified with the amendments—Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Clive Bayley, Lord Mayo, Mr. Justice Scarlett Campbell, Sir Henry Norman, and Sir Donald Stewart, and later Sir Charles Lyall and Sir Alfred Lethbridge—are a guarantee that administrative experience and hard-headed knowledge has long been brought to bear in order to make the original ideas work out beneficially

in practice. In addition to this, the system, as it practically stands to-day, is the result of rules thus evolved as modified by the Superintendent's By-laws or Settlement Standing Orders, issued under the authority of the Government of India from time to time as experience has dictated. Surely one ought to hesitate long before making, in any system with such a history as this, drastic changes which are based on novel theories as to the treatment of convicts. Especially if one remembers that the whole basis of the system is that the Penal Settlement is not a prison, but a place for the detention of a certain class of prisoners only—viz., transported convicts.

The full penal system when last I had anything to do with it was as follows: The first two years the convicts practically spent in gaols, subjected to a gradually lessening severity of discipline rather than to grinding toil. For the next three years the life-convict lived in barracks, locked up at night, and went out to labour under supervision. For his labour he received no reward, but his capabilities were studied. During the next five years he remained a labouring convict, but was eligible for the petty posts of supervision and the easier form of labour. He also received a very small allowance for little luxuries, or to save if he chose in a special savings' bank. When he had completed ten years in transportation he could receive a ticket-of-leave, and become what was known as a "self-supporter." In this condition he earned his own living in a village: he could farm, keep cattle, and marry or send for his family. But he was not free, had no civil rights, and could not leave the Settlement or be idle. After twenty to twenty-five years spent in the Settlement with approved conduct he could be absolutely released. While a self-supporter, he was at first assisted with house, food and tools, and paid no taxes or cesses, but after three to four years, according to certain conditions, he received no assistance, and was charged with every public payment which would have been demanded of him, had he been a free man.

The women life-convicts were similarly dealt with, but on altogether easier lines. The general principle with regard to them was to divide them into two main classes—those in and those out of the female gaol. Every woman had to remain in the female gaol, unless in domestic employ by permission, or married and living with her husband. Women were eligible for marriage or domestic employ after five years in the Settlement, and if married they could leave the Settlement after fifteen years with their husbands, all married couples having to wait for each other's full term under the rules, whichever came last, and they had to leave together. If unmarried, the women had to remain for twenty years. In the gaol they rose from class to class, and could become petty officers on terms similar to those for men. Convict marriages were carefully controlled so as to prevent degeneration into concubinage or irregular alliances.

Term-convicts were treated on the same general lines as the lifers, except that no term-convict could become a self-supporter, and, of course, every term-convict was released at once on the expiry of his term. In the general system the special local savings' bank proved to be of great value in inducing faith on the part of the convicts in the honesty of the Government, irrespective of its value in inducing habits of thrift, and diminishing the temptation to violence for the sake of money hoarded privately. Another point of great educational value in the system was that "convict offences," though punishable executively, were all tried, however trivial, by a fixed quasi-judicial procedure, including record and appeal, so that the convict was made to feel that justice was, at all times, as secure to him as to the free.

The whole drift of the treatment was that of a long education to useful citizenship, throughout which there ran continuous threads of practice in self-help and self-restraint, and of inducement to profit by the practice. Effort to behave well and submission to control alone guided the

convict's upward promotion in due course ; every lapse retarded it. And when he received his ticket-of-leave, it was only to himself that he could look to provide, out of his own earnings as a steady member of society, that money which was to secure for him a sufficient competence on his release. The aim of the Penal Settlement was to educate the outcasts it received into self-respecting citizens, habituated to find for themselves in an orderly way. The incorrigible were kept till death, the slow to learn till they mended their ways, and only those who proved to have good in them were returned to their homes. The root argument on which the system was based was that the acts of the convict spring from a constitutional want of self-control.

The system was primarily one of discipline, financial considerations giving way to this all-important consideration. The labour of the convicts was firstly disciplinary ; secondly, it provided for the wants of the Settlement so far as these could be supplied locally ; thirdly, it was expended on objects remunerative in money.

The main fact that comes out of all this is that Port Blair is a huge reformatory, aiming at turning the naturally uncontrolled into ordinary self-controlled members of society by continuous education over a long period in self-restraint, the method of education being the result of practical experience gained by the watchfulness of many capable men in succession. Surely one would hesitate long before one went any farther than amendment of such a system as this—before one forsook it in order to comply with the demands of any novel theory.

Before I close what are probably the last remarks I shall ever be called upon to make on this subject, let me go a little farther into certain essential points in support of the above suggestions to those who are engaged in the latest inquiry into the system, to go slowly in the matter of reform. The tacit argument on which the Port Blair system is based is that the convict is very like other men

except in one particular—self-control. Want of self-control is the fundamental characteristic of the convict temperament. It comes out in everything that convicts do. It is the root and origin of the vast majority of their offences against morality and society. It is always present. It must always be looked for and guarded against. There is also a certain number of human beings who are entirely vicious, but such are not very many, not even amongst life-convicts. While at Port Blair I calculated that only 2 per cent. of the lifers were positively dangerous, and that 2 per cent. more were sufficiently bad to make it a common-sense precaution to keep them permanently in a gaol. This gives 4 per cent. of lifers who should be always locked up. Of the rest, the majority I found to be not like this, and that they were capable of being brought to a considerable height of respectability. Many were not vicious at all, but merely liable to fits of unrestraint. But I would not be misunderstood here. I do not wish to speak as a theoretical enthusiast, but as a practical administrator, who has been burdened with serious common-place responsibilities, and desires to take a plain, common-sense view of the subject. I therefore wish to say that, in however kindly a light one may be disposed to look at his case, the clear fact is that the ordinary convict for life is not safe, and his liability to lose self-control on quite inadequate provocation should never be lost sight of.

It is on this experience and these observations that the advice I used to give to novices in the treatment of convicts was that they should remember that the convict is a born rebel, without self-control or right impulses. Therefore, if one would succeed with him and lead him on to orderly ways one must be firm without favour, never forgiving a fault, but at the same time never punishing vindictively. Giving this advice an epigrammatic form, I used to say : Be as just as you are able, and harden your heart.

It is the observation of the ways of convicts, of much that goes on perforce where they are congregated, that

constitutes a danger to would-be reformers, especially after a short experience. The fact is that there is a seamy side to Port Blair. It could not be otherwise. Life-convicts are not an honourable nor a scrupulous class. They are not ladies and gentlemen. Their manners are not mild, nor are their impulses repressed. Life and limb are by no means secure in Port Blair, and I could easily lay myself out to describe the life in a convict village or in convict barracks as I only too well knew it to be. I could easily describe the condition of perpetual irritation in which convicts live, arising out of their own mutual ill-will and distrust. It would indeed be very easy to paint a lurid picture of the inhabitants of Port Blair, to preach a scathing condemnation, of the envy, hatred, and malice, the uncharitableness, the evil-speaking, lying, and slandering, the murder and the cruel death, the amazing immorality, the callous depravity, the downright unabashed wickedness, constantly forced upon the view. But such is not my purpose.

Human faults are readily seen and as readily denounced, for such things are on the surface. The difficult thing always is to perceive aright the good that there is in bad men and bring that out. Nevertheless, that is the duty of the Port Blair officials and the object of the system above explained. At any rate, what we tried to do in my time was to look on the convict as physicians do on their patients. We could not help the existence of the disease, but we tried to diagnose it correctly, alleviating where we could, and curing where we could; but we did not lay any claim to the working of miracles.

But the obviousness of the evils inseparable from the life of a convict society constitutes a real danger. Those who first come upon it are shocked and disgusted and animated with an overwhelming desire to root up and cast aside any system that permits their existence for something that would seem, at first sight, to destroy it. Such a desire is, I understand, in the minds of influential reformers just now.



To those who would give way to this natural feeling I would most earnestly say : Go slowly, be careful that by drastic change you do not create as many evils as you seek to cure, remembering that the system you condemn is the growth of a century of the capable thought and observation of men who have had exactly the same aims as yourselves.

There is one point in the Port Blair system—that relating to marriages locally contracted between convicts—which has been frequently and persistently misunderstood, the same old misrepresentation being regularly reproduced about every ten years or so, partly by the facetiously mischievous and partly by the ill-informed though well-intentioned. I understand that this question is being again brought up in influential but prejudiced quarters. A local convict marriage as conducted in my time was, however, no concubinage, no temporary or irregular alliance. Every inquiry was made and every step was taken that was necessary to render convict marriages legal, according to the customary law of the contracting parties. Long was the wait in many cases between proposal and completion, and many were the disappointments when the conditions were found to bar completion. Once married, the husband and wife were clearly made to understand their legal condition, and if released had to depart together or not at all. The practice was that the Chief Commissioner personally inquired into each case, sanctioned each marriage himself, for without such sanction no convict marriage could take place. When a marriage took place after sanction, the Chief Commissioner registered it himself, and thus completed the precautions necessary for its legality.

The children of such marriages have been a serious difficulty, and will prove to be a stumbling-block in the way of any measure that involves an abandonment of the Penal Settlement. The convict marriage system has created in the Settlement a free population, now of some fifty years' standing, between whom and the free settlers introduced from India there is a marked social difference. Convicts' descendants are called at Port Blair the "local born,"

and form a society of their own unlike anything in India—very interesting to the student of ethnology, but behind a barrier socially which it is difficult to break down. When it is broken down, and there is a marriage into a “local born” family tainted with convict blood, it is looked upon as degrading to an immigrant from India. There is much greater sympathy, in fact, on the part of the immigrants, temporary or permanent, with the actual convicts than with their descendants. Taken as a class, the “local born” are an intelligent body, not given to violence or inclination to theft, but of a distinctly low general morality, due no doubt to bad early associations, convict mothers not being a class likely to bring up children to a high morality. Their attitude is generally defiant, owing probably to the indeterminate nature of their social status, as has been observed of others unhappily situated socially elsewhere.

There is much, beyond doubt, that is undesirable in all this, but as long as human passions remain as they are, I for one would never dream of abandoning the system of convict marriages among lifers. The alternative would promote on a large scale conditions of life which one cannot even mention in ordinary society.

The special difference between the result of the Penal Settlement and that of the ordinary gaols appears to lie in this: While the Port Blair returned convict is a man fitted and habituated to support himself, the prisoner from a gaol is not only a pauper, but has become pauperized—that is, he has become unaccustomed to fend for himself, and this disability has grown upon him with the length of his imprisonment. At Port Blair no convict is parted with until there is good reason to believe that there is a fair hope of his living the rest of his life at home in an ordinary, orderly way.

This result is the measure of the success of the Penal Settlement. From first to last, what may be called the unconscious education of the convict is towards rendering himself fit for free life. There being no other source of labour in the Settlement, even while he is working without

pay, it is on one or other of the ordinary employments of life, and, of course, when he has his local ticket-of-leave he supports himself in the ordinary way. So that in the result, he that arrived an outcast, void of restraint, and unfit for association with his kind on equal terms, goes forth a useful citizen, broken to restraint, and not only fitted for human society, but well used to submit to the conventions by which alone that society can be maintained. Men so reformed are sent back to India, not by ones or twos, but by scores every year. As I have already said, the incorrigible are kept till they mend their ways, while those only who have good in them and are capable of reform are returned to the society they once disgraced.

In all systems devised by man for the control of men there are defects of theory and practice, and at attempts to correct them in the light of experience no one could desire to cavil. But it seems to me, at all events, that very serious and prolonged consideration is due before anything beyond improvement in detail is attempted in a penal system that aims so high, and has had so great a measure of practical success in its chief aim as that of Port Blair.

The besetting sins of reformers are obsession with a fixed philanthropic idea and ignorance of the history of the subject they are attacking, and of the efforts made in their own direction by those that have gone before. So important is it in this case to keep the mind clear on the principles that have guided forerunners for a century, and so constantly in reforming projects have they been overlooked, that I am tempted to close this discourse by a quotation from the despatch of Sir Stamford Raffles from Bencoolen in 1818 to the Government of India explaining the fundamental principles on which the Penal Settlement at Port Blair was conducted in later days.

Sir Stamford Raffles wrote: "But there is another class of people that call for immediate consideration. Since 1787 a number of persons have been transported to this place from Bengal for various crimes of which they have been found guilty.

“The object of the punishment, as far as it affects the parties, must be the reclaiming them from their bad habits, but I much question whether the practice hitherto has been productive of that effect. This I apprehend to be, in a great measure, in consequence of sufficient discrimination and encouragement not having been shown in favour of those most inclined to amendment, and perhaps to the want of a discretionary power in the chief authority to remit a portion of the punishment and disgrace which is at present the common lot of all. It frequently happens that men of notoriously bad conduct are liberated at the expiration of a limited period of transportation, whilst others, whose general conduct is perhaps unexceptional, are doomed to servitude till the end of their lives.

“As coercive measures are not likely to be attended with success, I conceive that some advantage would arise from affording inducements to good conduct by holding out the prospect of again becoming useful members of society and freeing themselves from the disabilities under which they labour. There are at present (1818) about 500 of these unfortunate people. However just the original sentence may have been, the crimes and characters of so numerous a body must necessarily be very unequal, and it is desirable that some discrimination should be exerted in favour of those who show a disposition to redeem their character. I would suggest the propriety of the chief authority being vested with a discretionary power of freeing such men as conduct themselves well from the obligation of service, and permitting them to settle in the place and resume the privileges of citizenship. The prospect of recovering their characters, of freeing themselves from their present disabilities, and the privileges of employing their industry for their own advantage, would become an object of ambition, and supply a stimulus to exertion and good conduct which is at present wanting.

“It rarely happens that any of those transported have any desire to leave the country. They form connections

in the place and find so many inducements to remain that to be sent away is considered by most a severe punishment. [This is only partially true of Port Blair.] While a convict remains unmarried and kept to daily labour, very little confidence can be placed in him, and his services are rendered with such tardiness and dissatisfaction that they are of little or no value. But he no sooner marries and forms a small settlement than he becomes a kind of colonist, and if allowed to follow his inclinations, he seldom feels inclined to return to his native country.

"I propose to divide them into three classes. The first class to be allowed to give evidence in court, and permitted to settle on land secured to them and their children; but no one to be admitted to this class until he has been in Bencoolen three years [in Port Blair the term is ten years]. The second class to be employed in ordinary labour. The third class, or men of abandoned and profligate character, to be kept to the harder kinds of labour, and confined at night. In cases of particularly good conduct, a prospect may be held out of emancipating deserving convicts from further obligation of services on condition of their supporting themselves and not quitting the Settlement.

"Upon the abstract question of the advantage of this arrangement I believe there will be little difference of opinion. The advantage of holding out an adequate motive for exertion is sufficiently obvious, and here it would have the double tendency of diminishing the bad characters, and of increasing that of useful and industrious settlers, thereby facilitating the general police of the country, and diminishing the expenses of the Government."

Regulations on these lines were framed, and by December 20, 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles reported that they had been gradually introduced, and were attended with the best effects. Thus was started the Indian Penal Settlement system on a career which I submit has been successful and invaluable to the Indian Empire.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held on Monday, April 6, 1914, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, a paper was read by Colonel Sir Richard C. Temple, Bart., C.I.E. (formerly Chief Commissioner Andaman and Nicobar Islands), entitled "The Andaman Penal System." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Lady Lamington, Sir John and Lady Stanley, Lady Temple, the Hon. Victor A. B. W. Cochrane-Baillie, Sir William Ovens Clark, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Arnold Nundy, Mrs. Hillman, Mr. R. W. S. Parmar, Mr. Magan Lal, Rai Bahadur R. N. Lahiri, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. G. Buckle, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Bashford, Colonel Forde, Mr. T. W. Mansukhan, Miss Webster, Mrs. Hartley, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. H. Rai, Mr. C. S. Rajindra, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Flora Sassoon, Mr. and Mrs. V. Dawson, Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. G. T. Miller, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Hedley V. Storey, Mr. F. D. Mulla, Colonel Browning, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mrs. P. Forbes, Mrs. Temple, Miss Temple, Colonel H. D. Love, Mr. Reginald Murray, Captain A. St. John, Miss Margaret O'Brian, Mr. Ali Fahmi Mahomed, Mr. A. B. Vaux, Miss Wade, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. M. C. Ghose, Mr. K. P. Khaitan, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. F. Biedermann, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Colonel Sir Richard Temple to read the paper he has promised us.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very grateful for the interesting and expert lecture we have just heard. I am one of the men in the street alluded to in the lecture, and therefore I must not attempt to express any opinion on a matter in which I have no experience whatever. I only hope there are some gentlemen here who will be able to give us their own views, and perhaps traverse some of the arguments so as to originate and participate

in a discussion which may be of considerable value. What does strike one in listening to the lecture is how very far-seeing Sir Stamford Raffles must have been to have been able to promulgate ideas of how convicts should be treated so far in advance of those prevalent in his time. The most interesting point to my mind was his description of the character of these convicts, and how very difficult it is for anyone outside the walls of an establishment of this kind to estimate the character and failings and habits of those who have to undergo penal servitude. Whilst we hear that the present system is under criticism and is liable to change, I rather wish we could have heard in what respects particularly these innovators propose to bring about what they term "reforms." I heartily concur with the lecturer in saying that it would seem a very dangerous thing indeed to introduce any violent changes in a system which has been tried for 100 years—not a cast-iron system, but one that has been moulded from time to time according to the light of experience, and according to changed ideas of society in respect of the treatment of convicts. It is in this regard that I repeat I hope there may be some people present who will be able to give us their views upon this question. I am sure that the lecturer, with his long experience of ten years in the Andaman Islands, will welcome any criticisms made in respect of his paper. I therefore now ask anyone present to give us their views on this subject.

CAPTAIN A. ST. JOHN said he would like to ask one or two questions: (1) What was the shortest term for convicts in the Settlement of Port Blair?

The LECTURER replied that in his time convicts were not received under sentences of fourteen years, but they formed only a small portion of the Settlement. The system was intended mainly for life convicts, but owing chiefly to the exigencies of labour, term convicts for fourteen years were received. The lecturer thought that they did not represent above 20 per cent. of the whole.

CAPTAIN ST. JOHN asked if there was any method of shortening that term. Could they gain any remission?

The LECTURER said that the theory was that a man or woman should be sent to Port Blair as a rule under a life sentence. The men could be released, subject to good conduct, under certain conditions, after twenty to twenty-five years, and the women after fifteen to twenty years, so that the life convict's term was from practically twenty to twenty-five years, depending upon what they were transported for; poisoners, for instance, were often not released at all. The great point of the system was that if a convict really behaved himself well, he did not do more than ten years of prison labour, and then he did another ten years as a self-supporter, that is, practically as a free man, before he was released, but if he did not behave himself he was kept all his life. It depended entirely on himself. It was one of Sir Stamford Raffles' great ideas, that it was a bad thing to give a man no hope at all. Every convict at Port Blair had a hope. (Hear, hear.) The term men would get a remittance of their term under rules; the system in their case being pretty much the same as that in

existence in England. They would be remitted a proportion of their terms for good conduct.

CAPTAIN ST. JOHN asked if that good conduct consisted solely in not misbehaving, and in their being able to do something to support themselves so as to enable them to earn a living when they got outside?

The LECTURER replied that good conduct consisted mainly in keeping off the "defaulter" sheets. Self-support was the reward for that good conduct. It had nothing to do with the term of release. If a man behaved well and saved his money in the Savings Bank, which was maintained, when he had done ten years with good conduct, he was made a self-supporter. At the end of the ten years an ordinary convict could save thirty rupees.

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said that he spoke without any special knowledge, and only as an average citizen; his army life had not made him a master of the question of prisons, but speaking as a man in the street he was entirely opposed to bringing together the prisoners of varied races from 300 millions of people into one place. He thought the prison atmosphere was a terrible atmosphere (hear, hear), and how anyone could breathe in it he did not know. As a result of education and teaching of the soldiers most of the army prisons were now empty; they must have a free atmosphere. To him personally the system had no attractions whatever. The convicts belonged to many races and creeds, and he suggested that they ought to be cared for in their own districts; the whole problem of prison care and sympathy was at present agitating the world. In years gone by we had had the most horrible experience in the world of prison colonies, and nothing more degrading ever existed under the British flag. He thanked Goodness the Cape rose in rebellion against the coming of the convicts there. Even if the angels came down from heaven to run the Andamans he would still think the atmosphere must be absolutely injurious and poisonous. He spoke as a non-specialist, and perhaps as a humanitarian. In his opinion the atmosphere of the old prisons was hellish—that was the only word to use. The soldier of to-day had his arms with him in prison and was drilled; it was the men who were not cared for in their regiments that became criminals. If his vote had any power he would turn the Andaman Islands into a free colony, and let other people go there, and break up that vast, pestilential, dangerous, and most injurious mass of crime. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM asked whether there were in the Andaman Islands now any descendants of the convicts who went there near the beginning of the system, and if any large families had been in successive generations formed, and whether the convict families flourished and increased to any large extent?

Mr. REID said that he would like to refer to the incident of the building of a lighthouse by the convicts, where the man in charge went from Burma with a large body of convicts, mostly murderers, landed on the island, lived with them, and went about amongst them quite unharmed. The only trouble he had was with one man who was lazy; he happened to strike



this man one day, and the man rushed at him with a knife. That was the only difference he had with any of those murderers, and he erected the lighthouse with nothing but convict labour.

Dr. POLLEN said he too spoke merely as a "man in the street." He had never been to the Andamans, but he had met convicts from the Andaman Islands. He could recall an occasion when he met some convicts in very peculiar circumstances. He was going up the Red Sea to Bombay, not in a Convict ship, but in a ship which was almost as curiously equipped—viz., a Pilgrim ship—returning with some 700 or 800 pilgrims from Mecca, and one day, whilst picking his way amongst the crowds up and down the deck, he heard a voice behind saying in beautiful English, "You seem to have visited many countries, Sir, but I do not suppose you have ever seen the country I come from?" Dr. Pollen replied that he did not know what that country was. "Oh," said the pilgrim, "I come from the Andamans!" "Then I suppose you must have been a criminal of some sort?" Dr. Pollen rejoined, to which the reply was, "Yes, I was." This was from a patriarchal-looking Muhammadan, returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca! Dr. Pollen then inquired what crime he had committed, and was told "Murder!" "Indeed," said Dr. Pollen, "whom did you murder? and why did you murder?" It was then explained that the murder had occurred some forty years ago, and that the pilgrim had been concerned along with others in the murder of a little schoolfellow. They were instigated by a man to help him in the murder of the child for the sake of his ornaments. As a result the man was hanged, and the schoolboy accomplices were sent to the Andamans. On being asked how he liked the Andamans the quondam murderer said that he had been, and was, very happy there. He had learned his English there, where, he said, the officers took a great interest in him and taught him a trade and to speak English. He was a free man now and had land in the Andamans. He was married; his wife (who was on *board with him*) had also been a convict, and on being questioned as to what crime she had committed, his reply was: "Murder." She had murdered her first husband! On asking him had they any children, Dr. Pollen learned that they had nine girls and forty-nine grandchildren (laughter), and the grandfather and grandmother were quite happy and contented. This pilgrim murderer was a thoroughly well-educated man, and also a very devout man, and he did not seem to be at all spoiled by his experiences in the Andaman Islands, so the Settlement must be a very good place if it led to people being as happy and well behaved as these people were. (Hear, hear.)

A LADY asked if there were any political prisoners sent to the Andamans, and if they were subjected to the same treatment and associations as the ordinary prisoners?

ANOTHER SPEAKER asked if the lecturer could give them a brief outline of the proposed reforms, so that they could form some judgment on the matter, between the old and the new systems.

The LECTURER said, in reply to other questions: With reference to the

question of what is going to be done, he really did not know. No one could possibly know, except the Government of India. He only knew that there are certain things before the Government, but what they are exactly he did not know. As stated in his paper, he had endeavoured, not so much to deprecate any specific reforms as to put before the people interested in proposed reforms a clear statement of what the existing conditions are. One can only guess at what is going to be done, because of what one may hear, by the time the Government of India has thrashed out the points, the result may be something very different from the first proposals. He understood it was contemplated to do away with the system of convict marriage for one thing; and also that it is proposed to keep prisoners in India for ten years before they are sent to the Andamans. This last is an administrative measure which may have the most disastrous effect on the Settlement, because then there can be no local supplies for those who are not self-supporters in the Andamans. He was told also the idea is to make the Settlement more penal. He had further heard that it was proposed to substitute for the present permanent superior officials temporary untrained men from the Indian Services. This would throw the real control into the hands of subordinate officials, a step that is bound to prove disastrous.

The question of congregating convicts, which had been raised by a questioner, was one that is easily misunderstood. If the Government has on its hands 14,000 men and women, who are chiefly life-convicts, they have to be kept somewhere. The choice really lies between keeping them in a Penal Settlement or in a gaol, and the great difference between the two can be seen thus. When you put a man into a gaol you keep him a pauper as long as he is there. You do everything for him to such an extent that he becomes unable to look after himself, and the longer you keep him under those conditions the worse citizen he makes afterwards. It is a mistake to mix up the case of the man who comes out of a gaol with that of a man who comes out of the Penal Settlement. The man from a prison is entirely unfitted to look after himself, whereas a man was not let go into society from the Andamans until he had shown himself for a long while to be able to keep himself in the ordinary way. Then again, discipline in a gaol is often cruelly severe. It is very hard, and it is an awful life, whether in England or in India, or anywhere else. It is infinitely harder than life in a convict settlement.

In answer to another question, the lecturer said there were very few Europeans in the Andamans, but he remembered the case of one unfortunate man who had murdered his wife under very great provocation. He was an engineer, and a man of good education, and the lecturer found him running out his time of lifelong imprisonment in a Calcutta gaol. He had behaved well; but he never had a chance of doing anything for himself until he was transferred to the Andamans, where he was put in charge of a large quantity of machinery, which was used for forest purposes. Then this convict became a man again. He never misbehaved himself. He was told that as he was a European there would be no defaulter sheet

for him, and that he would be put under no special regulations ; but that if he misbehaved and broke the rules of the place, he would be sent back to India, and the mere threat was sufficient to make him careful to mend his ways. That shows the difference between the Penal Settlement and a gaol.

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said it was the difference between a Penal Settlement and a badly organized, non-technical gaol such as the Indian gaols were.

The LECTURER said he could not say that the English gaols were any better. The systems were almost identical. There was no difference so far as he could see. Such remarks as that just made were a good illustration of the difficulty of managing such a technical matter as the treatment of convicts where the man in the street had a say in it, as he looked at the subject not according to pre-conceived ideas, but according to experience of the question.

In the Convict Settlement the officials tried to give as free an atmosphere as possible to people who were outcasts. The lecturer supposed that out of the 14,000 convicts there as many as 10,000 were murderers (practically every woman there was a murderer), some of whom were very bad, but others were not. It was a great mistake to think that because a man in a fit of anger, and sometimes under great provocation, had killed another, he was therefore a bad man. It was not at all necessarily so. Many murderers were quite the reverse, and some of the most honest people in the place were warders who were themselves convicts. But given a certain amount of provocation murderers were liable to commit murder again, and they were not therefore to be trusted not to use violence.

A LADY: Why do not you hang them?

The LECTURER thought that in some instances it would have been better if the murderers had been hanged in the first instance, because they committed another murder while in the Settlement. When they did so in the Andamans the punishment was always death ; the law being that if anyone there, who had been sent there for murder, again committed or attempted to commit murder, he was hanged. There was no other punishment under the Indian Penal Code.

Then, again, it has been said during the afternoon that it is a mistake to mix up all the races of India in one Settlement. As a matter of fact, that constituted the safety of the place. What made the government of the Andamans so easily possible was the variety of races among the convicts. There had to be men in boats all day long, and variety of race was played on to such an extent that no two men of the same race were ever placed in the same boat. The result was, of course, that they often could not speak to each other, and they could never by any chance combine. If you are going to congregate a large number of prisoners together, experience of the Penal Settlement tells you to mix the races as much as possible.

The question of the Cape and Australia, which is often brought up as a reason for abandoning the Andamans, is not really applicable. In

Australia, and in other places where in former days they sent convicts, there was also a large number of free settlers, whereas in the Andamans the only free people besides the aborigines were those who have to deal with the prisoners. There is no population to be contaminated as there was in Australia. It is, of course, possible that in the course of another century or so a free population may arise which may make it inadvisable to send convicts there. The aboriginal savages of the country will do no civilized work, and they have no truck with the convicts, except when one tries to escape and steals their goods. Then they generally kill him.

The LECTURER was asked as to the size of convicts' families, and said that they were large, and that the reason was that it is the only part of the East where it is the rule to rear the whole of a family. The children of convicts were healthy because they were so well looked after by the authorities, who had done their best to rear a healthy, intelligent population, and to prevent the children from dying. There was free education for everyone.

The LECTURER said, in reply to another query: If you are dealing with a body of murderers, and nothing happens to create trouble between you and them, or each other, things will go on perfectly smoothly, and very often better than they would in a free society. But the moment a convict was seriously crossed out came his knife. The lecturer had seen that over and over again. He knew one man who had been in the Andamans for nineteen years, and had borne an excellent character, but he suddenly murdered a petty officer, on the ground that the other man had taken away his character to such an extent that an order had been issued to transfer him from one island to another. The real reason was that the other man had been bullying him, and the transfer was ordered in his interest. The lecturer went into the man's original crime, and found that he had murdered his sister-in-law twenty years before because he thought she was setting his wife against him. Otherwise that man was perfectly reliable.

In reply to a query as to political prisoners, the Lecturer replied that there were some in the Andamans, but they were not political in the ordinary sense of that term in England. They were sent under a special Act, and were treated in a certain special way.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, and also to Lord Lamington for his kindness in presiding, said there was one remark he would like to make in reference to what they had heard as to the character of some of these prisoners. It did not follow that a man was utterly bad because he had committed murder; and there were cases of men who had been sent to the Andamans who ought never to have been sent there at all. He remembered a case of a man who was tried for murder on the West Coast of India. This man had murdered his wife and his wife's mother. At the trial it was found that the prisoner had been ill, and went to a local doctor, who at the same time was reputed to be a holy man, and who told him that the real cause of his fever was that he was haunted by the spirits of his deceased ancestors. This so preyed on the unfortunate man that he became finally to all intents and purposes

temporarily insane. He was afterwards put under observation in the gaol, where the surgeon declared there was no sign of insanity about him. The man was sentenced to death, but the sentence was not carried out, and he was sent to the Andamans. If anybody ought to have been sent to the Andamans in this case it was the reputed holy man, who put such nonsense into the offender's head. One could not help thinking that a man might commit a murder under some excitement, and yet his character for the whole of the rest of his life might be perfectly sound and good. You could not always make the punishment fit the crime.

In conclusion he thought that the most interesting information they had heard was in what the lecturer had told them in reply to the various questions put during the discussion; he had certainly thrown a great deal of light on the administration of the Andamans. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the lecturer and himself, thanked the meeting for the very hearty vote of thanks. He thought the story told by Dr. Pollen showed a very thorough reclamation of the convict, both in knowledge of infant rearing and in the ethics of life. He thought that in some parts of India the bringing up of nine *daughters* in a family would never be allowed for a moment! Curiously enough, only that very day, in reference to Mr. Reid's point as to the irresponsibility of criminals, Lord Cromer was telling him that the assassination of Lord Mayo was merely an act of vendetta; the assassin had been sent to the Andamans after having killed a man in a family feud. He regarded that as an unjust sentence, and as a mere act of vendetta he killed Lord Mayo during his visit. That showed how very irresponsible these people were. He would like to know what size these islands were, because there must be a large number of the people who had obtained their freedom. (The Lecturer replied that they were about 2,500 square miles in extent.)

In conclusion, he trusted that the lecture would be brought to the notice of those responsible for the maintenance of authority, and the carrying out of the present system, and that they might consider the views put forward before they introduced any change, which might possibly be unwise or destructive. (Hear, hear.)

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary :

*April 7, 1914.*

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

Subjoined is a copy of Darwin's remarks on the Indian convicts in Mauritius, which I have taken from his most interesting book, "*A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World.*" The convicts he saw were "extremely dark." They, therefore, must have come from Bengal or Madras, and not from the Upper Provinces. I think you will agree with me that the subject is worth bringing to the notice of those who were present at yesterday's meeting of your Association. I was sorry not to find it in my old note-book.

Yours very truly,

D. A. REID.

## DARWIN ON INDIAN CONVICTS IN MAURITIUS

"The various races of men walking in the streets afford the most interesting spectacle in Port Louis. Convicts from India are banished here for life; at present there are about 800, and they are employed in various public works. Before seeing these people I had no idea that the inhabitants of India were such noble-looking figures. Their skin is extremely dark, and many of the older men had large moustaches and beards of a snow-white colour; this, together with the fire of their expression, gave them quite an imposing aspect. The greater number had been banished for murder and the worst crimes; others for causes which can scarcely be considered as moral faults, such as for not obeying, from superstitious motives, the English laws. These men are generally quiet and well conducted; for their outward conduct, their cleanliness, and faithful observance of their strange religious rites, it was impossible to look at them with the same eyes as on our wretched convicts in New South Wales."

## THE BATTLE OF THE GAUGES IN INDIA

BY SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

IN the early days of Indian railways, Lord Dalhousie, in an able minute, dwelt strongly on the mischievous mistake into which British legislation had fallen in permitting the introduction of two gauges into England. He urged that, however widely the railway system might be extended in time to come, the great evils inseparable from a break of gauge should be averted, and uniformity rigidly enforced from the first. He considered the question to be one of such moment as "to deserve authoritative and conclusive decision by the highest authorities."

Unfortunately, this wise counsel has been neglected, and India has committed the grave mistake of introducing a break of gauge.

The first battle of the gauges was fought in Great Britain, extending over an area of 88,000 square miles, and affecting, at that time, a population of about 20,000,000. The Indian battlefield extends over an area of 1,800,000 square miles, and affects a population of some 260,000,000.

The standard gauge of Great Britain (4 feet 8½ inches) was selected by George Stephenson as the average width apart of wheels of ordinary road vehicles, and it was adopted on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was opened for traffic in 1830.

In 1833 Brunel persuaded the directors of the Great Western Railway to adopt a gauge of 7 feet on the railway

between London and Bristol, and all went well so long as each gauge kept to its respective district; but when the two gauges met at Bristol in 1844 the evils of a break of gauge became apparent. In 1866 a memorial, signed by a large number of manufacturers, merchants, colliery owners, and others, was addressed to the directors of the Great Western Railway, from which the following is an extract:

"The transfer of goods is expensive, tedious, entailing, moreover, constant delay in delivery, grievous disappointment, consequent annoyance, and often serious loss to both consignor and consignee; and as regards the staple of this district—viz., coal—such transfer (involving not only the expense of the operation, but the loss arising from depreciation and breakage) becomes positively prohibitive."

The break of gauge was generally denounced as a commercial evil of the first magnitude, and even the chairman of the broad gauge railway admitted it to be "an evil which would alone neutralize half the benefit of the railway system."

In consequence of this agitation, a Commission—consisting of Professor Airy, Professor Barlow, and Captain Smith, R.E., was appointed to inquire into the matter.

This Commission, while considering the advantages claimed for the broad gauge, agreed that the narrow gauge by no means precluded such improvements, and their verdict was entirely in favour of retaining 4 feet 8½ inches as the standard gauge.

The broad gauge lingered on for some years, during which attempts were made to minimize the evil by mixed gauge and other expedients, which were complicated and unsatisfactory, until finally the whole of the broad gauge system was changed to the standard gauge in 1872.

The ironmasters and others benefited greatly by the change. One firm—Messrs. Brogden—wrote: "The change of gauge made a difference to us in our business of fully £20,000 a year.

It is a mistake to suppose that the disadvantages of a break of gauge can be simply measured by the cost of



transfer from one railway to another, or by the loss and breakage thereby occasioned ; these are insignificant when compared with the other disadvantages which Mr. Grier-son, the General Manager of the Great Western Railway, has shown to be " of a more substantial character, although not so readily seen or understood."

Mr. Grierson has thus described his difficulties :

" Although during a portion of the year the traffic is tolerably regular, at other times it is fluctuating, and it is therefore frequently found that when this fluctuation arises, or when the traffic has to be carried over distances, sometimes short and sometimes long, it is impracticable to provide the rolling-stock with regularity, notwithstanding the large amount of stock owned by the Company, which is largely supplemented by private persons, and the transfer station becomes blocked ; uncertainty, delay, and loss is thereby caused, and a check is given to progress and development, whereby the interests of the district, the Company, and the traders suffer."

All these difficulties apply with greater force to India, where the distances are much greater, the changes of season and monsoon more violent, drought, famine, and other contingencies throw greater strains on the resources of railways than in England.

The working expenses of the 7 feet gauge railway were not greater than those of the standard, and the abandonment of the former did not arise from any objection to the gauge itself, but simply from a desire to eliminate the evils of a break of gauge.

The standard gauge of India (5 feet 6 inches) was chosen after careful deliberation as better suited than the English gauge to the bulky agricultural produce that would form the principal amount of the traffic of railways in India, and past experience has fully justified the wisdom of that choice.

In order to understand the reasons that induced a break of gauge in that country, it is necessary to review briefly the circumstances which led to it.

Early in 1870 a series of plausible but misleading letters appeared in the *Times* respecting the Festiniog Railway, originally a tramway of a 2 feet gauge some thirteen or fourteen miles in length, for the conveyance of slates from

a group of quarries to the port of shipment. It had been very profitably worked for thirty years previously, and had then been converted into a railway worked by small locomotives. The letters in the *Times* claimed the most extraordinary advantages over ordinary standard gauge railways as being entirely due to the exceptionally narrow gauge. These claims were :

1. Working expenses only  $44\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the receipts, as against an average of 48 per cent. on standard gauge railways.
2. A yield of 29 per cent. on the capital cost, as against 6 per cent. to nil on standard gauge railways.
3. Dead load of rolling-stock one-third, as against one-half on the standard gauge.
4. Saving in first cost of construction.
5. Saving by the use of sharp curves.
6. Saving in wear and tear by light loads.

These opinions, published under the ægis of the *Times*, had an extraordinary effect in misleading those who were not thoroughly conversant with the practical working of railways, and their influence was world-wide. In Canada and the United States a large number of railways were constructed on an exceptionally narrow gauge, only to be subsequently converted to the standard gauge (4 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches), at a considerable cost.

In 1870, during my absence from Ceylon on furlough, the Governor wrote privately to me to the effect that he had decided on the adoption of a 3 feet 6 inch gauge, in extension of the existing railway of 5 feet 6 inch gauge. In reply I strongly urged a reconsideration of the question, requesting that, at all events, comparative estimates should be made of the cost of extension on both gauges, including the works and additional rolling-stock that a break of gauge would involve. This was done, and, subsequently, the Governor wrote again to me: "I have completely adopted your view, that a break of gauge would be a great mistake."

Other Colonies were also infected by the narrow gauge craze, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies requested me to visit the Festiniog Railway, and report upon it. The result of my visit of inspection was the complete demolition of the claims set up for the exceptionally narrow gauge. I showed in my Report that the comparisons which had been made between the Festiniog Railway and ordinary railways were absolutely absurd and untenable, all the conditions of the traffic being entirely different from those of ordinary railways.

The Festiniog Tramway, having been profitably worked by horses before it was converted into a railway, it would have been easy to establish by comparisons similar to those brought forward in the letters to the *Times* the superiority of a horse-worked tramway over the ordinary railway worked by locomotives.

The Festiniog Railway had a monopoly of the carriage of slates to the port, and, consequently, could charge a rate of  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ton mile, whereas the ordinary mineral rate on other railways varied from  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 1d. per ton mile.

If the freights prevailing on ordinary railways had been charged on the Festiniog Railway, the working expenses would have been greater than the receipts, and, instead of a dividend, there would have been a considerable deficit.

The claim for dead weight vanishes on examination. The little open trucks, specially designed for the carriage of slates, for slow speed, without springs, weigh 1 ton, and carry 3 tons of slate. These have been contrasted with the standard gauge ordinary waggon, solidly built for high speed, with springs, and designed to carry bulky, as well as dense articles of traffic. Agricultural produce requires ten or twelve times as much space as slate, and, to carry such produce, ten or twelve trucks of the 2 feet gauge would be required, as against one ordinary standard gauge waggon, thus practically entailing 10 or 12 tons dead load, as against 6 tons in the standard gauge.

If the question of cheap construction be analyzed, the

advantage to be gained by a decrease in gauge will be found to be very small. A large number of those items which make up the cost of a railway are unaffected by the gauge; for example, preliminary expenses, survey, land, fencing, level crossings, stations, workshops, staff-quarters, station machinery, and telegraphs, are the same in either case. The length of sidings and the cost of engines and rolling-stock of the narrow gauge will be rather higher for the same amount of traffic. Should, however, the line be isolated, as in a short branch, the break of gauge will entail a very much larger expenditure in rolling-stock and workshops than would be necessary if those of the main line could be used. In earthwork the only difference is that of the gauge, the slopes being the same in both cases. This difference is proportionally smaller in large earthworks, and, in the extreme case of an embankment 50 feet in height, with flat slopes, would only be about 3 per cent. In large bridges, the principal cost is in the piers, foundations, stone protection, and training works, which are not affected by the gauge. In culverts the faces and aprons will be the same for both gauges, the length of the barrel being only increased by the difference between the two gauges. The greatest difference is in the ballast and permanent way; with steel sleepers, however, the difference is small; and, with cast-iron sleepers, such as have been adopted on the principal standard gauge railways, the only increase would be in the length of the tie-bar, due to the difference of gauge. For equal axle loads the weight of rails is unaffected by the gauge.

During the English battle of the gauges the difference in cost per mile of railway between the 4 feet 8½ inch and the 7 feet gauge, actually due to gauge, was estimated at about 7 or 8 per cent.

The advantage claimed for the Festiniog gauge in saving of wear and tear by the use of light rolling-stock is illusory. Similar advantage might be obtained without break of

gauge by light railways of ordinary gauge. The great wear and tear on ordinary railways is almost entirely due to heavy engines running at high speed. Heavy traffic at high speed requires heavy engines, and there is no reason why light engines should not be used on light railways of ordinary gauge. The engines on the Festiniog Railway were heavier than those for many years used on the standard gauge of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and the southern division of the London and North-Western Railway, between London and Birmingham, was for many years worked by small engines, much lighter than the heavy engines of the Festiniog Railway. Moreover, the small size of the 2 feet gauge vehicles would require more waggons and engines to carry a given amount of traffic, and, consequently, there would be more wear and tear in the axle-boxes, axles, tires, and moving parts of the engines.

A 2 feet gauge might effect some saving by the adoption of very sharp curves in mountainous districts, but almost the whole of India is of such a character that no appreciable saving could be effected by the adoption of sharper curves.

The question of gauge is one that has given rise to more discussion, misunderstanding, and useless expense than any other subject connected with railways ; it is one on which every amateur feels fully qualified to express an authoritative opinion, although in reality it involves many very complex considerations.

India, like many other countries, was affected by the narrow gauge craze, and, in 1870, the metre gauge (3 feet  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches) was selected as the standard for the future in India.

It is necessary to discriminate between the evils of a break of gauge and the merits or demerits of any particular gauge ; it is a mistake to suppose that a metre gauge line is a "toy railway," for there is no doubt that a considerable traffic can be carried by it with economy and efficiency. Many, in their dislike of a break of gauge, have fallen

into the error of disparaging the obnoxious gauge ; and, although I consider the introduction of a break of gauge a very mistaken policy, it has often fallen to my lot to take up the cudgels and defend the metre gauge from the intemperate and unfair arguments of its opponents.

Apart from the question of a *break* of gauge, I consider that the 5 feet 6 inches gauge is better suited than the metre to the bulky agricultural produce which forms the chief part of railway traffic in India. It is, moreover, far better for the transport of artillery and munitions of war.

In India the mischief had been done before I arrived there to take up the post of Consulting Engineer for State Railways to the Government of India. There has been a general impression amongst engineers that I was the parent of the break of gauge—a paternity which I emphatically repudiate. In fact, before I went to India, I had, as Director-General of Ceylon Railways, successfully resisted a break of gauge in Ceylon ; and I have every reason to believe that my known antagonism to a break of gauge caused a postponement of my appointment to India for nearly a year, pending a settlement of the gauge question. Immediately after my arrival in India, Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, sent for me and said :

“ I wish you distinctly to understand that the question of the gauge of railways has been settled, and *must not* be re-opened.”

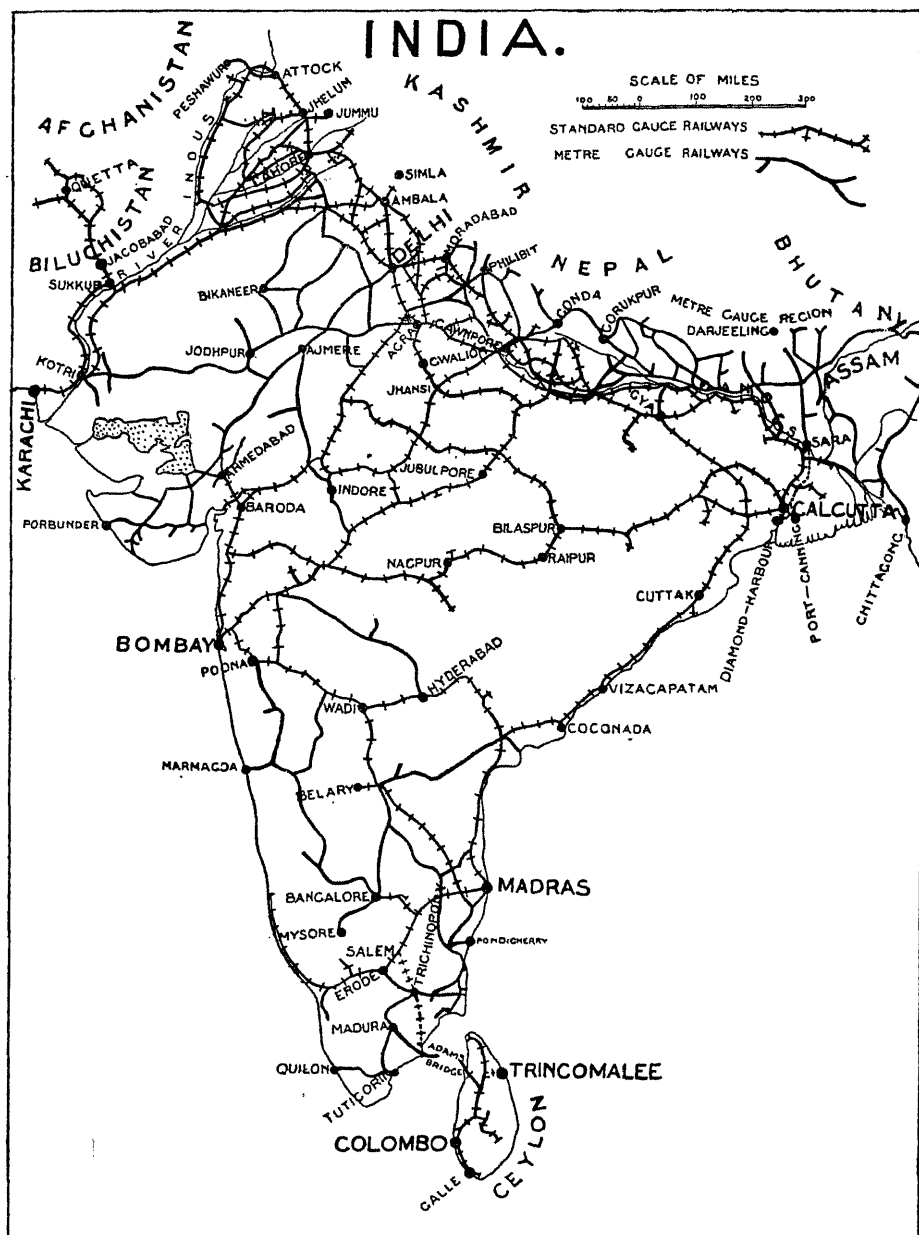
In 1873, however, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the gauge question was re-opened. Lord Roberts (then Colonel and Quartermaster-General), in a very able Minute, raised a strong protest against the break of gauge on the frontier railways, and drew a graphic picture of the confusion that would occur if the troops and munitions of war were brought on by the broad gauge more rapidly than they could be carried forward. Commenting upon his protest, I expressed the opinion that this picture would not be realized in practice, as it would be discreditable both to military and railway management to push on troops and munitions of war faster than they could be forwarded, and

thus add to what must necessarily be a source of great confusion and difficulty ; and I added :

“ But, even without this source of confusion, the difficulties which a break of gauge would entail on troops pressing rapidly on to the frontier would be very great, as the work of transfer would have to go on day and night ; stores would be mixed, broken and lost ; the men would be harassed, horses injured, and the delays would be very great.”

With regard to the realization of this picture, I must admit I was wrong and Lord Roberts was right. Six years afterwards, during the Afghan War, General Kennedy, Director of Military Transport, complained to the Government that the railways were not forwarding troops and military stores to the front with sufficient despatch, and I was ordered to go to Jhelum to see what could be done to relieve the situation. On my arrival there I found that the picture was more than realized : an enormous area of land, many acres in extent, was crowded with military stores, carts, baggage, tents, and war materials of every description, piled one on another in the utmost confusion. Sixteen trains a day were arriving, each train adding to the confusion. The Commissariat Officer in charge told me that it would be a relief to him if the railway service could be suspended for a month or six weeks, as he could not in that time send on the existing accumulation. I telegraphed to the Government that the action of the military authorities in sending on by railway more than the Commissariat could forward was causing much confusion and delay, and that the block had been caused by a want of properly concerted action between the Transport and Commissariat Departments.

Happily, the protest of Lord Roberts led to a complete change of policy with regard to the frontier railways. The Punjab-Northern Railway, the construction of which was originally commenced on the standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge, and then altered to the metre gauge, had again to be changed to the standard, and, during the last change, temporary lines of the two gauges were working side by side.





The Indus Valley Railway, 500 miles in length, originally a metre gauge railway, had to be changed to the standard, and all the frontier lines have since been made on the standard gauge. Altogether, the change of policy involved the alteration of more than 1,000 miles of railway.

Lord Roberts, by his vigorous protest, has earned the gratitude of India by saving the frontier from disaster that might have been the result of a break of gauge between its frontier and all the important systems of the rest of India. His victory for the frontier railways will probably exert a more lasting effect on the future destinies of India than even his most brilliant military successes.

Nearly all the advantages claimed for the metre gauge might have been secured without break of gauge by the adoption of light standard gauge railways; and, in 1873, advising the Government of India to adopt this policy, I wrote :

"The construction of light, broad gauge railways on the 45 pounds principle would have entailed an increase of about 15 per cent. on the cost, and I am of opinion that—in consideration of the length of railway already constructed—the maintenance of uniform gauge in India is worth that additional expenditure."

It has been urged by advocates of the metre gauge that the adoption of light standard gauge railways would have the effect of a break of gauge, because the rolling-stock of ordinary railways could not be used upon them; but this argument could only apply to the heavy standard gauge engines, but not to the passenger or waggon stock, of which the axle loads would not be too great for the permanent way of the light railway.

In fact, the metre gauge railways have departed widely from those conditions which were originally claimed as their principal recommendation. They have passed out of the category of "light railways."

At the outset the weight of rails of the metre gauge railway was 35 pounds per yard. It has now been in-

creased to 60 pounds.\* The weight of the engines was  $12\frac{1}{2}$  tons. It has now been increased to  $40\frac{1}{2}$  tons, and, including the weight of tender, to 64 tons.

In discussions of the gauge, statistics of the actual cost of groups of standard and metre gauge railways have been put forward, showing their capital expenditure to have been about £11,800 and £4,750 per mile respectively; and these figures have been accepted by some as representing the difference due to gauge.

Statistics, like mathematics, are valuable when rightly used; but, when used without full knowledge of all the conditions affecting them, they are apt to be misleading and mischievous.

The misuse of statistics in the Indian battle of the gauges has been a fertile source of error, and it is scarcely necessary to say that the acceptance of these figures as representing the difference due to gauge is grossly misleading.

The railway history of India may be divided into two epochs—the first commencing about 1850, and the second about 1870. The great majority of the standard gauge railways were made in the earlier period, when the conditions affecting the capital cost were absolutely different from those prevailing in the second period, during which the metre gauge railways were constructed.

In the first place, the changes of currency in 1873, by the demonetization of silver, altered its purchasing power to an extent of at least 30 per cent. The capital of a company always increases with age, and the standard gauge railways are for the most part at least twenty years older than the metre gauge railways. In 1867 Lord Lawrence, drawing attention to the great increase of the capital of Indian railways, wrote :

“I regard this danger with great concern, both in relation to the prospect of existing lines and our hopes of extending them. If the

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\* On some railways of 2 feet gauge the weight of rails per yard is 36 pounds, and occasionally, 50 pounds.

Government is to avoid it, some means must be found for putting an effectual stop to the insidious growth of the capital of old lines.

“It is not to be disguised that much of the wasteful expenditure which has arisen in connection with Indian railways has been duly pointed out before it was too late to stop it by the consulting engineers, and that these officers have not on all occasions been supported by the Government in the attempts to enforce economy.”

Some years before my arrival in India, when Director-General of the Ceylon Railway, with the view of checking the inflation of capital, I practically closed the capital account of the railway, with the happiest results, and on my advent to India I endeavoured to carry out a similar policy on the metre gauge railways by meeting minor additions to them from revenue instead of from capital. This line of action undoubtedly burdened the revenue account, and gave an appearance of excessive working expenses, when compared with those of the older railways, on which this principle was not enforced. But, although this policy was admitted in principle to be sound, it was, after some time, discontinued, on account of the hopelessness of having comparisons made on the crude basis of bare results.

Again, the earlier railways had a very expensive type of permanent way, and the later railways have had advantages in the improvements in the design and execution of works, of cheaper bridgework, the substitution of steel for iron, and the fall of price in steel rails from £16 to £5 per ton—a most important item in the gauge question.

Another cause of disparity is found in the fact that the number of large rivers bridged on the metre gauge lines is quite insignificant compared with that on the standard gauge railways.

The cost of large bridges per mile forms a very large proportion of the total cost of any railway. Taking, for example, the extreme case of the Punjab-Northern Railway, 105 miles in length, on which there are three large bridges, aggregating nearly three miles in length, the cost of these, including training-works and protection, has added £14,000 per mile to the cost of that railway; and it must be borne

in mind that the difference in cost in such bridges is but very slightly affected by the gauge. A comparative estimate of the cost of these bridges, on the standard and metre gauge by the Engineer-in-Chief of that railway, showed a difference of only 3 per cent. ; the cost of abutments, piers, foundations, and training-works, which form the principal expense, being practically the same in both gauges.

Again, the capital of the earlier railways has been enormously increased by the huge premium paid on the purchase of these railways by the Government.

These facts show the absurdity of attempting to arrive at the comparative cost of standard and metre gauge railways by crude comparison of their respective capital accounts.

In 1882 I was asked by the Government of India to furnish them with a comparative estimate of the cost of the 5 feet 6 inches and metre gauge. In reply I wrote: "It is simply impossible to lay down anything like a proportion between the cost of the gauges. It will differ in every individual case."

In illustration of this impossibility I assumed two extreme cases, and in concluding my note I stated, "It *may* vary between 5 and 33 per cent."

In passing on my note the Deputy Secretary wrote: "One might as well attempt to estimate the value of a horse by the height of its withers as to estimate the cost of a railway by the width of its gauge."

Two years afterwards I was horrified to find that a witness, giving evidence before the Railway Committee in the House of Commons, had given me as his authority for stating that the difference of cost between the gauges was 5 per cent. in heavy ghat lines and 33 per cent. in surface lines.

Eventually I traced this absurd statement to a Royal Engineer, who had carelessly read my note, and entirely misunderstood it.

A striking instance of the folly of such comparison may

be found in the case of that of the Northern Railway of Ceylon, and the Southern Kelani Valley Railway—lines built about the same time and by the same agency—the former, a light standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge; the latter, 2 feet 6 inches gauge. The standard gauge line cost £3,617, while the narrow gauge cost £7,498 per mile. The cost of the permanent way per mile was practically the same in both cases; but the cost of the rolling-stock per mile of the standard gauge railway was only one-third of that of the narrow gauge line.

In 1884 the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Railway Communication expressed the following opinion on the subject of gauge, with a view to minimize the evils inseparable from a break of gauge :

“Your Committee are of opinion that all the leading trunk lines, with their principal feeders, should be on the broad gauge, the metre gauge being, as a rule, confined to tracks of country where that system is already in successful operation, and to local lines where the traffic is likely to be so light that cheapness of construction more than counterbalances the undoubted disadvantages of break of gauge.”

In regard to this opinion, Colonel Conway-Gordon, R.E., Director-General of Indian Railways, wrote :

“In the face of the fact that probably every railway man in India regards it as absolutely certain that when the railway system extends, and junctions become more numerous, the inconveniences of a break of gauge in the same district or province will become so serious that the Government will, sooner or later, have to make the gauge of all railways in the same districts uniform, I look upon it as remarkable that no attempt has hitherto been made to localize the two gauges, and thus reduce the evil as far as possible. . . . Briefly, it may be said that the Government of India, in the years from 1867 to 1869, against the advice of every professional man engaged in the working of railways who was consulted, introduced a new gauge in India, on assumed data, which subsequent experience has shown to be altogether incorrect. The only reason for introducing into India the inconvenience inseparable from a break of gauge was economy. I give the cost per mile of railways lately made to show how little difference there is now in the cost of the two gauges.”

This comparison of the average cost of the railways worked out at £4,803 for the standard and £4,976 for the metre gauge per mile. He added :

“From the above figures it might almost be supposed that the standard gauge lines were the cheaper of the two. The fact is that the recent fall in the price of iron has taken away the greater part of the saving claimed for the metre gauge. The sooner we reach the same conclusion as they have in England—to have but one gauge—the better it will be for the taxpayer in India. The attempt to burke the difficulties by ‘thrusting our own heads into the sand’ has already lasted too long. To evade the difficulties in connection with this question will prove an impossible problem.”

The Indian break of gauge has several times been the subject of discussion in the Institution of Civil Engineers, and almost all engineers of eminence have denounced it. Airy, who was one of the Royal Commissioners on the English break of gauge, said :

“It does appear to me an act of extraordinary imprudence to introduce a break of gauge into India.”

After thirty-six years’ experience of the break of gauge in India, Sir Frederick Upcott, Chairman of the Indian Board of Railways, and formerly Director-General, brought the question before the Institution of Civil Engineers, in order to examine the possibilities of gradually obtaining uniformity of gauge. He suggested that uniformity might be brought about either by altering the metre to the standard gauge, or altering the standard to the metre gauge, or altering both to the English gauge (4 feet 8½ inches).

The first of these is alone worthy of consideration. It would involve less expenditure, less sacrifice of rolling-stock, and greater efficiency. Sir Frederick Upcott deduced from actual experience of the past a comparison between the efficiency of the standard and metre gauge railways, showing that, taking speed as one factor in the equation, the relative efficiency of the standard is twice that of the metre gauge for passengers carried one mile, and four and three-quarter times per ton of goods carried one mile.

The railway administration has been unable to grapple with the great congestion of traffic. The want of uni-

formity renders it impossible to draft the rolling-stock of one railway to another of different gauge, to meet those periods of stringency so common in India, owing to abnormal or deficient rainfall, flood, famine, sudden glut of traffic, concentration of troops, and other causes.

The traffic of the Rajputana-Malwa system has outstripped the capacities of the metre gauge, and the question has arisen whether the lines should be doubled or relaid to the standard gauge.

The mischief has assumed such gigantic proportions that any immediate or drastic action to restore uniformity is out of the question. There are now in India 18,266 miles of standard gauge, 14,750 miles of metre, and about 3,000 miles of 2 feet or 2 feet 6 inch gauge railway. The only practicable course is to minimize the evil by restricting the narrow gauge as far as possible to defined areas, and to adopt a fixed policy, the aim of which should be the gradual conversion of the metre to the standard gauge, when the traffic may outgrow the capacity of the narrow gauge, as opportunity or necessity may dictate.

Forty-one years ago, when urging on the Government the adoption of a fixed line of policy for restricting the metre gauge to defined areas, I wrote :

“Such a policy, if adopted, should be pursued with unwavering pertinacity, keeping it always in view, and completing the necessary works when opportunity may offer, either by the construction of new lines, where none exist, or by obtaining existing lines of railway through negotiation, or exercising the right of purchase when it occurs.”

This policy, however, has not been maintained. Encroachments have been made by both gauges into the territory of each other, creating a confused network, in which both are inextricably mixed up, and unnecessary lines have been made.

The problem of minimizing the evil and preventing its increase presents enormous difficulty ; but the attempt to solve it should be made without delay, as every year increases the evil.

Burma and Assam are pledged to the metre gauge ; but neither of them is affected by the break of gauge, for they have their respective ports of shipment at Rangoon and Chittagong. The region north of the Ganges must also retain the metre gauge ; but it is cut off from any port of shipment, except through transfer at numerous points along the 500 miles of its boundary on the Ganges. With a view of minimizing this difficulty, it has been suggested that the system should be connected by narrow gauge with Calcutta or its neighbourhood—bridging the Ganges at Sara, crossing the Eastern Bengal Railway, joining the Central Bengal Railway, and converting it into a metre gauge line. A great objection to this project would be the confusion and complexity that would be caused by the introduction of a mixed gauge in the sidings of the Port Commissioners at Calcutta. This, however, might be avoided by having the metre gauge terminus lower down the River Hooghly at Diamond Harbour or at Port Canning, so as to make either of these the port of shipment for the Trans-Gangetic system.

The growth of traffic beyond the capacity of the gauge of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway affords an opportunity for having it relaid on the standard gauge, instead of doubling it. This would avoid a break of gauge between Delhi, the new capital, and the port of Bombay. It would cost much less than doubling the line.

Another question requiring early consideration is that of the Indo-Ceylon Railway. Before long a connection between India and Ceylon must be made by a causeway over Adam's Bridge, twenty-two miles in length, to both ends of which railways are now completed ; on the Ceylon end by the Indian standard gauge, and on the Indian end by the metre gauge. It would be an act of extreme folly to introduce a break of gauge between Ceylon and India, more especially as this railway, if extended, would open to the trade of South India the port of Colombo, and the magnificent harbour of Trincomalie. To effect this without break of gauge, it would be necessary either to relay



the line from Erode, on the South Indian Railway system, to Rameseram on the standard gauge; or, preferably, by making a new standard gauge line from Salem to Rameseram, the Indian end of Adam's Bridge. The new line, though rather more expensive, would be shorter, and would develop fresh outlets for trade in South India. It would connect Ceylon, without break of gauge, with the 18,000 miles of standard gauge from the south to the most northern parts of India.

As an alternative to the direct line from Salem, I may state that it has been proposed to construct locomotive workshops at Trichinopoly, and these involve the laying of the standard gauge from Erode to Trichinopoly, in order to bring the standard gauge locomotives there.

From Trichinopoly to Rameseram the railway which I have delineated on the map has already been suggested, and if this were made as a light standard gauge line, uniformity of gauge would thereby be secured.

The bridge over the Paumben Strait has been designed for a metre gauge, but it is quite capable of taking the waggon stock of the standard gauge.

It may be thought that Ceylon is comparatively so small that a break of gauge is scarcely worth serious consideration; but it must be remembered that Ceylon is nearly as large as Ireland.

It is to be hoped that the Government will adopt some wise and comprehensive policy, which will tend to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge in the railways of India.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 20, 1914, at which a paper was read by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., entitled, "The Battle of the Gauges in India." Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., was in the Chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present : Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., General Sir Edmund Barrow, K.C.B., Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mrs. and Miss Pollen, Miss D. Pollen, Captain H. O. Mance, D.S.O., and Mrs. Mance, Mr. G. M. Buckland, R.A., Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel Forde, Mrs. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. A. H. Wilson, Mr. E. Benedict, Miss Massey, Miss Harrison, Mrs. Davidson, Madame Hemmerlé, Miss Hemmerlé, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. V. Raghunath, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Miss Molesworth, Mr. R. Maitland, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. R. Money, Mr. Ali Fahmi Mohamed, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mrs. Boyle, Mrs. John Hullah, Mr. and Mrs. Larking, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Colonel Boughey, Mr. and Mrs. A. Mudie, Mr. Bolinbroke Mudie, Mr. E. A. Cumming, Mr. A. R. Bannerjee, C.I.E., Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. M. Yamin Khan, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. W. Lane, Mrs. Walsh, Miss M. Walsh, The Misses Maunder, Major Longridge, Mrs. Blaise, Mr. and Mrs. Sassoon, Mr. H. B. Molesworth, Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Terry, Mrs. Wigley, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Adams, Mr. A. Cadell, C.S.I., Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mr. E. M. Coppin, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Dawson, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. G. H. Beattie, Mr. R. O. Grant, Mr. F. Biedermann, Mr. M. E. Corrie, Mr. G. K. Wasey, General Lovett, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. H. Palmer, Mrs. Bird, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Miss Webster, Miss Ruth Tempest, Mr. Waring, Mr.

Colman P. Hyman, Mr. and Mrs. Hope Smith, Mr. E. Jackson, Mr. W. H. Copley, Mr. G. Service, Mr. Theodore Hance, Mr. Alexander Edmonds, Mr. J. Ballantyne, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Neville Priestley, the Rev. A. H. and Mrs. Lash, Colonel Evans Stuart, Mr. Hedley V. Storey, Mr. Cyril Hitchcock, Mr. Goodchild, Mr. Robert White, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, J.P., Mr. J. S. Haji, Mr. H. D. Cornish, Mrs. Preston Edwards, Mrs. Hastings, Mr. and Mrs. N. G. Hackney, Mrs. and Miss Creagh Osborne, Mr. J. F. G. Walton, Mr. C. C. Hall, Mr. C. R. T. Balston, Mr. F. Bickers, Colonel and Mrs. Kilgour, Mr. and Mrs. Hastings and friend, Mr. J. B. Braddon, Lady Spens, Mr. P. Mitter, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Mrs. Marsh, Captain H. Marsh, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Grigg, and Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: I will call upon Sir Guilford Molesworth to read his lecture.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with loud applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a very instructive lecture this afternoon, and I venture to endorse the last suggestion of the lecturer, "That the Government of India will adopt some wise and comprehensive policy which will tend to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge in the railways of India."

I gladly accepted Sir Guilford Molesworth's invitation to preside at this lecture, partly because we were friends in bygone days in India, but also because the subject of the lecture is one in which, as Sir Guilford has pointed out, I had reason to be deeply interested. The question at issue—just forty years ago—so far as the military authorities were concerned was whether the main line of railway, which had been completed from the coast as far inland as Lahore on the standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge, should be continued on that gauge towards the frontier, or whether it should be constructed on the metre gauge (3 feet 3½ inches)—a gauge which had been introduced some three years previously, and was strongly supported by the Public Works Department of the Government of India.

At the time of the battle I was Quartermaster-General of the Army in India, and had had considerable experience in the transport of troops both by railway and by route-marching. It was particularly fortunate for me that the then Commander-in-Chief in India happened to be the late Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala—a very talented officer of the Royal Engineers—better able than most soldiers to advise on the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems.

The only way, it seemed to me, by which the question could be properly considered was to take a concrete case. Accordingly, I imagined that a serious disturbance had broken out on the North-West Frontier, and that it was necessary to collect at, and despatch from, Lahore a large body of troops with the least possible delay.

I drew up a statement showing the dates on which a force of 10,000 men of all arms could be collected at Lahore, and in what time these same troops could be forwarded on to Rawul Pindi—a distance of

171 miles—beyond which place it was not then intended to take the line of railway :

1. By the broad gauge.
2. By the narrow gauge.
3. By route marching.

I was able to prove that by the broad gauge—that is to say, without any break of gauge at Lahore—the 10,000 men with guns, horses, tents, baggage, etc., complete, could be assembled at Rawal Pindi in 101 hours, or four days and five hours, after the first detachment had reached Lahore ; and that the last of the forty-three trains required for the force could be back at Lahore by 1 p.m. on the fifth day, ready for any further work that might be needed.

On the other hand, by the narrow gauge I was able to show that from the time of the arrival of the first detachment at Lahore—a period of 321 hours—or nearly thirteen and a half days—would be required to convey the same force of 10,000 men to Rawal Pindi.

And by route-marching I had no difficulty in explaining that the last division would reach Rawal Pindi at twelve noon on the fourteenth day after the arrival of the first detachment at Lahore, and only thirteen hours after the last troop train by the narrow gauge.

I need not refer to the confusion, delay, and extra work that would be caused to troops by a break of gauge. Sir Guilford Molesworth has referred very generously to the correctness of my forecast as to what would inevitably happen under such circumstances. I will only say that, in 1879-80, when I was in Afghanistan, and the force under my command was mainly dependent on India for supplies, I felt thankful that “the Battle of the Gauges in India” had been settled in favour of there being no break of gauge at Lahore. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I now call upon Sir Bradford Leslie to open the discussion.

SIR BRADFORD LESLIE said that he was afraid he could not make any useful comments on the paper, as he had not heard it fully owing to his unfortunate deafness, but he might perhaps offer a few quite general remarks in respect of the difference of gauge. The field for the extension of the railway communication in India was so vast, and the conditions so varied in different parts of the country, that he considered the two gauges must go forward together ; it was a case of “the survival of the fittest.” At some points he noticed that there was a tendency where the traffic was becoming heavy for the metre gauge to give way to the standard. Delhi having now been adopted as the capital of India, the direct communication between Karachi and Delhi had become of great importance. The metre gauge railway of the Jodhpore State was the shortest route between the two cities, but the traffic went round by the standard gauge ; in these circumstances, the Maharaja of Jodhpore had decided to convert his metre gauge railway to the standard gauge.

In Eastern Bengal hitherto the dividing line of the gauges had been the Ganges River, all the railways to the south being on the standard gauge, and to the north of the river on the metre gauge. As most of

them would know, there was approaching completion the Lower Ganges Bridge, about 125 miles north-east of Calcutta, which would effect direct communication between the railways north and south of the river. The proposal was that the standard gauge should invade the metre gauge country north of the Ganges. In many places the conversion of the metre gauge had been determined upon. New railways, such as the Sara Serajunge, were being made on the standard gauge, and other extensions were in contemplation, notably one from Santahar to Maldah, which was to be a light standard gauge railway. In his opinion, the standard gauge was able to cope with the work better, and it was most likely gradually to supplant the metre gauge; but he could not overlook one great illustration of what a metre gauge railway could do, which at present existed in the Bengal and North-Western Railway, which had not only filled up the map of Tirhoot and Behar, but had invaded the standard gauge sphere of Oudh and Rohilcund. Of course, no doubt each system was adapted to its own particular locality, although it should be pointed out that the standard gauge being capable of much higher speeds than the metre gauge, in case of a great amount of traffic at a higher speed, it would require less rolling stock. The standard gauge would also require less siding accommodation for that rolling stock to stand upon, and so on; but those were really only mere details. Then, again, as to transshipment, it had now been reduced to such a minor matter that it was of small importance; as a matter of fact, transshipment to a considerable extent had to be done on all railways at repacking stations and at junctions, in order to prevent light running of partially loaded waggons, quite irrespective of difference of gauge. Although in some instances transshipment did involve delay, it was now accepted as an ordinary routine affair of minor importance, and no extra charge was made by the railways for the service of transshipment.

MR. NEVILLE PRIESTLEY: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, it is difficult to deal with so large a subject as the "*Battle of the Gauges in India*" in the few words I feel entitled to speak, but I will endeavour to be as brief as possible.

While I think that every one will agree with Sir Guilford Molesworth that a multiplicity of gauges is in itself undesirable, I do not think that many who have had to do with the providing of money for railways in India will agree with him that the evil was, or is, avoidable. The deficit in the revenue account because of the cost of the earlier railways which had been constructed on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge was very high, the country which it was desired to open up did not suggest a large amount of traffic, and the amount of money which was or could be made available for railway construction was very limited.

The Government were, therefore, faced with the alternatives of opening only a few miles of railway each year on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge and increasing, largely, the deficit; or adopting a narrower gauge and opening a much larger mileage of railways with, perhaps, a chance of not adding to the deficit at all. They chose the latter course then, and they choose the latter course still; and, if they had not had the courage to follow this

course India would not to-day have as much country opened up by railways as she has, nor would she be as wealthy as she is.

Sir Guilford suggests that the same result could have been obtained by substituting for the metre gauge light broad gauge railways, and that this would have entailed an increase of only 15 per cent. in the cost. My own experience does not bear out this conclusion, nor does it seem practicable to the Government of India at the present time, since in the last few years they have built or have authorized the construction on the 2 feet 6 inches gauge of many miles of branches off the 5 feet 6 inches gauge railways. While, therefore, the expediency, if not the necessity, for the adoption of different gauges must be admitted by the Administrator, if it is not also admitted by the Engineer, there can be no doubt that the intention, originally, was to build the metre gauge railways to a very light standard, and to convert them to the broad gauge when the traffic had developed sufficiently to justify conversion. That intention has never, except in a rare instance or two, been carried out, and for the same reason that led to the adoption of the narrower gauges. The Government were still short of money. The metre gauge line could be strengthened up to carry all the traffic of the districts traversed by it at far less cost than conversion to the broad gauge would involve—the Government, therefore, again adopted the course which expediency suggested, and they allowed the gauge to remain which was adequate for the needs of the district, even though it did mean some inconvenience when it came into contact with a broader gauge.

The lecturer suggests that the Rajputana-Malwa metre gauge line has outstripped the capacities of the metre gauge, and that the question has arisen whether the lines should be doubled or relaid to the standard gauge. The same opinion was expressed of its capacity twenty-five years ago, but the traffic, which has considerably increased in the meantime, is still carried by a single metre gauge line, and when it does exceed the capacity of a single line it might be safe to predict that the line will be doubled because doubling will cost less than conversion.

While, therefore, ample justification can be found for the policy which has been pursued by the Government, there still remains the broad proposition, with which no one can disagree, that a break of gauge in itself is undesirable; and that the aim should be the gradual conversion of the narrower to the standard or 5 feet 6 inches gauge. The difficulty lies in achieving that object.

Sir Guilford refers to what was done in America, but he has not told us how America secured uniformity of gauges. Up to the year 1886 there were more than seven different gauges of railways in the United States. In the summer of 1885 a conference of the Presidents of the different railways was held, and it was decided to adopt the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge as the standard, and to convert all railways to this gauge at the end of May of the following year.

The change was duly made in 1886, and 13,000 miles of main line and 1,500 miles of siding were converted to the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, and, incredible though it may appear, the operation was carried

out in just two days. That would be an impossible feat in India under present conditions. All that made it possible in America was that the necessity for uniformity had been foreseen for years, and all new engines, carriages, and wagons had been built so as to facilitate the change. But no amount of foresight or preparation would have brought the change within the range of practical politics but for two factors. Those two factors were the universal adoption of central fixed couplings without side buffers, and the bogie truck which was detached from the body of the car and the gauge of which was capable of expansion or contraction by easy expedients without interference with or being interfered with by the body. Those two factors are absent in India. The 5 feet 6 inches railways have side buffers with flexible couplings, while the metre gauge lines have fixed central couplings without side buffers. All railways are now building their passenger stock on bogie trucks, but the goods stock on the broad gauge railways still almost entirely consist of four wheelers. On the metre gauge lines the position is better, but not very much so.

The universal adoption of the bogie truck and the prohibition of the construction of any more four-wheeled vehicles is a simple matter. An executive order by the Government of India, similar to that issued in regard to passenger stock, is all that is needed. But the adoption of a uniform type of coupling for all gauges is much more difficult. The problem has, for other reasons, been under examination lately, and it is found not to be easy of solution. At the present time the inconvenience from break of gauge is not really *serious*, since much, if not all of it, can be overcome by proper organization; but as time goes on and traffic develops, and labour difficulties increase, it might well become so on some railways.

The conversion of a railway to another gauge is not at any time a simple proposition, and in India at this time, and under present conditions, it is a problem full of difficulty; but, while the problem is difficult, its solution is not beyond the wit of man, and it is desirable, as the lecturer suggests, that some wise and comprehensive policy should be adopted, now, while there is yet time, if enormous outlay and serious dislocation of business is to be avoided hereafter when the change does become necessary. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, unfortunately, I have to leave early, but I am glad to inform you that Sir Arundel Arundel will take my place in the chair. I beg to thank you all very much for your kind reception this afternoon.

Before Lord Roberts left a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Sir Arundel Arundel, and was carried unanimously, amidst loud applause.

MR. H. J. BAMBER: Ladies and gentlemen, what I have to say will not occupy more than a few minutes.

Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, in his most interesting and valuable paper now under discussion, laments the evils inseparable from a break of gauge, and hopes that something will be done to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge on the railways of India.

Since the change of policy which in 1870 permitted the introduction of metre, and later of smaller gauge systems, 18,000 miles of those gauges have been constructed, compared with 9,000 miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge, or exactly twice as many.

At the beginning of this year the mileage of metre and smaller gauge-lines sanctioned for construction greatly exceeded that of prospective broad-gauge lines; there is, therefore, at present, no indication of any intention to change the existing policy, and it seems necessary to look elsewhere for relief.

I venture to think that it can, in a large measure, be effected by increasing the maximum permissible loads of metre gauge axles.

Twenty years ago the maximum gross permissible axle load on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge railways of India was ten tons, it has since risen by steps of one ton to sixteen tons, at which it seems likely to remain. Meanwhile the metre gauge axle load has only increased by one ton, from seven to eight tons. There seems no reason why a maximum of twelve tons should not be aimed at; on the 3 feet 6 inches gauge lines of South Africa the maximum is sixteen and a half tons.

From 50 to 60 per cent. of all the goods handled on Indian metre gauge railways is of such a weight as would yield full wagon loads for the twelve-ton axle.

But for the increased axle load on the Indian broad gauge lines above referred to, the position to-day would, indeed, have been serious.

MR. ERNEST BENEDICT said that his only right to speak was his age, but after the lecturer and Sir Bradford Leslie had spoken he might be considered more or less as a boy. Nevertheless, he had had some experience of Indian railways, having gone out to India on them as early as 1865. As to the controversy between the two gauges, he agreed that there was no reason why, because they wanted to make a light railway, they should reduce the gauge; there was very little difference in the cost. With regard to the transfer from one system to another, the difficulties of which some speakers had minimized, he regarded it as serious. When they had two distinct and independent systems meeting in one place the difficulty was enormously increased; one railway would bring great quantities of goods, which the other railway was not ready to despatch. That required unusual co-ordination between the systems, in order to avoid a glut of goods at the transfer station.

With regard to the Festiniog Railway, which had always been a *bête noir* to him, he did not think they could compare a railway like that with one in the Indian plains. Lord Mayo was a clever man, but he did not think he was an engineer. Another thing the lecturer did not make a point of, owing, no doubt, to his modesty, was that, notwithstanding the idea that a mountain railway on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge could not be constructed within reasonable cost, Sir Guilford had constructed a 5 feet 6 inches railway in Ceylon, which was an essentially mountain railway, at a low cost. It was a question entirely of engineering. The Royal Engineers were very charming people in India, but when he first went out to India they told him they were learning their business at the expense of the



Government, for at the beginning they did not know very much about railways. They have had more experience since then. One Royal Engineer, when told to make a certain line, and to make it cheaply, simply took the contour map and ran the railway along a contour line, thus putting down an enormous amount of permanent way which he could have avoided by making a few cuttings and an embankment. (Laughter.)

Then, again, the question of speed was important; they realized that in America, where they ran their goods traffic almost as fast as their passenger traffic, if they got uniformity they could get along, but if they did not, it was very much like the problem of the London street traffic. On the narrow gauge they could not go as fast as on the broad gauge, and, in his opinion, the widening of the gauge would largely increase the advantages of the railway system in India.

He was sorry Lord Roberts was not present, because no one had alluded to the laying down of the 2 feet 6 inch gauge on all the recent frontier lines; thus introducing on a large scale a third standard. He would like to have asked Lord Roberts why that was. If the gauges throughout the Empire had been uniform, for instance, during the late war in South Africa, they could have sent out spare stock, but at present that was impossible. Australia was a country that had not been alluded to, where they had yet the same difficulty of too many systems of gauge; the same remark applied to Spain, where they had now found they would like to have inter-communication with the rest of Europe.

As to the statement of the short period of time in which the United States converted the whole of their system into one uniform gauge, he would like to ask how long they were in preparing for the change? He would undertake to convert all the Indian railways in two days if they gave him a year or two in which to prepare. (Hear, hear.)

CAPTAIN MANCE said that he must begin by confessing that he was one of the Royal Engineers, but he pleaded not guilty to having obtained his railway experience in India. After the costly experiment of different gauges in England, and the increasing difficulties resulting from this cause in India—happily modified, as regards the frontier lines, by Lord Roberts' action—it was surprising in how many countries these different gauges had been and were being allowed to exist. As a further example, he might mention Algeria, where there were three different gauges. It was interesting to note that in the railway from Oran to Becher, which he understood was now designated for eventual extension across the Sahara, they had a 1·05 metre gauge as compared with a one metre gauge in French West Africa.

Then in Australia, where they had the 5 feet 3 inches, 4 feet 8½ inches, and 3 feet 6 inches gauges, he understood they had recently decided to convert the whole of the Government Railways to 4 feet 8½ inches. Yet in spite of that, in 1912, in the infancy of what would be a great system of railways in Nigeria, our richest tropical possession after India, the same mistake had been made by the construction of some ninety miles of the 2 feet 6 inches gauge, for the sake of a paltry saving. In the

following year there were plans on foot for converting at least part of the newly-laid line to the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, which was the standard gauge of Nigeria, but again, in 1914, it was announced that that project had been abandoned, and the narrow gauge was to be extended. Surely, what they had heard to-day pointed conclusively to the necessity for re-laying the 2 feet 6 inches section with the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, and banishing the 2 feet 6 inches material out of the country, probably to Sierra Leone, where all the railways are 2 feet 6 inches. No doubt, so soon after the construction of the railway, it was rather against the grain to spend on converting it an amount somewhat greater than the original difference in cost between the two gauges, yet the error had been admitted, and the cost would be comparatively trivial, and if the opportunity was missed now, the cost and difficulty of eliminating the second gauge would undoubtedly increase as years went on. He urged that this pointed to the advisability of the Administration grasping the nettle whilst it was still easily uprooted! The initial fault of allowing two gauges must be classified, he was afraid amongst those things which ought not to be done, but which were done. Unfortunately, alas! the visitation of evil consequences was not limited to the third or fourth generation. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the lecturer to reply.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH: I can understand that Mr. Priestley must loyally defend the financial policy into which his Board has been driven, by the short-sighted and mistaken idea that railway development would have been checked by the difficulty of raising funds except for cheap metre-gauge railways; but this argument is inapplicable to the period when the break of gauge was introduced into India, for the construction of all new railways was then in the hands of the Government, with whom no such financial difficulty existed. In fact, most of the State railways were made for strategical and political, not for financial, purposes.

With reference to Mr. Priestley's statement that his experience was opposed to my view, expressed thirty-nine years ago, that the construction of light standard gauge would have entailed a cost of about 15 per cent. beyond that of the metre gauge. I am convinced that I overrated, rather than underrated, the difference; and that, in the light of more recent experience, I should now place it at a far lower figure—10 per cent. at the outside.

The great mistake the Government made at that time was in over-estimating the difference of the cost of the standard and metre-gauge railways. I am convinced that, taking into account the cost of conversions—the unnecessary lines that have been made—the increase of rolling stock and workshops, the cost and loss in transfer, etc., far more money has been expended than would have been the case if uniformity of gauge had been maintained.

The conversion of 13,000 miles of railway in the United States, in order to remedy the evils caused by the narrow gauge craze, proves how severely the evils of a break of gauge must have been felt.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to Lord Roberts, said they were very much indebted to them

both for the trouble they had taken, and for opening their stores of knowledge that afternoon in such an interesting way.

There was one little personal reminiscence of Lord Roberts he would like to mention. Forty years ago the people of Madras determined to erect a town hall by public subscription on an admirable design by the distinguished architect, Mr. Chisholm, and they were anxious to get the Governor of Madras to preside at the laying of the foundation-stone. He, however, thought they ought to have a system of drainage before a town hall, though the former would be paid out of the rates and the latter by subscription, and he therefore did not consent to preside. In their perplexity the committee turned to Lord Roberts (then Sir Frederick Roberts) to help them, and he consented with pleasure; gave a handsome donation, and proposed the vote of thanks to the Maharaja of Vizianagram, who laid the foundation-stone, and who munificently met the excess cost of the building over the amount subscribed by the public.

In conclusion, he felt sure they all agreed with him in wishing Lord Roberts many more years of health and vigour to devote to the welfare of the country. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

COLONEL YATE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that when he looked at the map and saw the enormous stretch of metre-gauge railways stretching up through Rajputana, he would like to ask why these metre-gauge lines had not been allowed to have their natural outlet on the sea. He asked, from an engineering point of view, whether it would be sufficient to have a third rail on the present standard gauge from Hyderabad to Karachi, so as to allow the metre gauge to run without break of bulk to its natural harbour at Karachi, or would an entirely new line have to be run alongside the present lines?

The LECTURER said that the line went through a flat desert and sparsely inhabited district, and there would be little difficulty or expense in adding a third line. He thanked them very much for so patiently listening to that which must necessarily have been a very dry subject.

With regard to the remarks that had been made regarding Royal Engineers, he thought that they had learned their lesson remarkably well. He had been in constant personal and official touch with them, and his relations with them had, with very few exceptions, been most cordial and satisfactory. They had often been placed in a difficult position, being supposed to be "Sab-janta-wallahs" (Know-everything-fellows), and to possess by intuition that special experience which can only be acquired in actual practice. In his opinion they had surmounted such difficulties admirably. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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### "A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

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#### THE IMPORTANCE OF CRICKET IN INDIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

THE Editor of the *Review* asks me for a few notes on my personal experience of cricket in India, and of its effects on the population of the Presidency of Bombay.

The best cricket of the year in the Bombay Presidency when I arrived there was undoubtedly the match between the Poona Gymkhana and the Parsees; this was played on the Maidan at Bombay during the rains. I fancy I did not see the match the first year, but it was fully described to me by my lamented friend, Colonel Frank Rhodes. I certainly saw it in the second year, and was very much impressed with the bowling of a Parsee named Writer. He struck me as very much like the celebrated Nottingham bowler, George Wootton, who flourished in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Wootton and Grundy were as well known in their day as were Morley and Shaw subsequently, so that it was classing Writer very high indeed for me to think that he was anything like as good; but that he was as good as Wootton for some six or seven overs, I am pretty sure, although I do not think he had anything like the stamina. It seemed to me that the Parsee eleven were too good for the eleven that went down to play them from Poona, and I suggested to some of the Europeans that I thought they ought to try and put the best eleven from the Presidency they could in the field. I gathered that some of them thought it a little *infra dig*, but they very soon gave way, and the result was some first-class cricket and some most interesting matches. If I remember aright, the Europeans quite held their own; but they were specially lucky at that time in having some really good amateur cricketers, Mr. Raikes in particular being (when he bowled at Bombay) quite equal to the best amateur bowler in Gentlemen *v.* Players in England. Perhaps I may have done some little good in ameliorating the relation between the two races that prevailed before I arrived by having a luncheon, at which the members of both elevens were present. It was one of the first instances of Indians and Europeans sitting down to a meal together. If the Europeans had had any reluctance previously, though I do not remember that they had, they "sank it" at my request. On the other hand,

the Parsees (some of whom had adopted the customs of high caste Hindoos) "sank" whatever objection they may have had to taking a meal with beef-eating Englishmen. There was rather a strong feeling that I myself ought to have played in these matches, but I was quite convinced from the first that I should be altogether "detached," and I have never regretted that decision. In another direction I endeavoured to arouse interest amongst the Europeans in cricket, by getting together a team to visit Ootacamund to play against a Madras eleven selected by my lamented friend, Lord Wenlock. It required a good deal of getting together, but we made the trip and were successful. Meantime I was not idle myself in Bombay. Frank Rhodes had set the Government House establishment at work blasting out a quantity of rock from the plateau outside Government House at Ganeskhind, and had made a pitch which was playable, although I should hardly call it safe; and should think that some English cricketers, who are very much afraid of their fingers nowadays, would not have cared to stand up to the very fast bowling of Bandsman Sharpe; but I organized some very delightful cricket there against European and Indian teams once a week. Guests were asked out for the afternoon, the band played, everything during the rains in the Presidency was green, and the cricket was quite good, so that the scene and surroundings were quite English, if the temperature was rather high. I had really got together an excellent eleven in one or two years at Government House, with the help of the band, Colonel Rhodes, Colonel Robert Poore (as he now is), Colonel Fowle, and Colonel Cox. These were all capital cricketers, and in that warm climate with the bright sun I could myself be depended upon for a high average. Besides our regular bowlers, who were quite decent, we had an excellent underhand, left-hand sneak bowler, who was almost invariably successful when we had to put him on.

Now I think even the severest critics of the British officials generally, and of the Governor in particular, could not have found anything very wrong in a match one day a week, taking up perhaps four or five hours in the day. But it is a fact that because I took part in an honest, open-air, athletic game, I was taken to task and abused like a pickpocket by the great majority of the Native Press. I might have reclined on my back three days a week smoking cigarettes and reading French novels, and they would have known nothing about it. In that case I should have probably escaped their animadversions, but because I had endeavoured to set an example of healthy, wholesome activity to the youth of Bombay—many of whom in their leisure moments had nothing to do, and probably spent that time not nearly so healthfully as I did—I was held up as a thoroughly bad example. I am happy to say that from all I hear, it is now recognized on all sides that it is really good for the youth of the country to have some healthy, outdoor, active occupation in their leisure moments, and if it is thought that the example I set had anything to do with the change of sentiment in the Presidency, I am amply compensated for the abuse I experienced at the hands of the Native Press.

I think it is likely that Indians will always be able to produce some fine

bats. They have good eyes, and are very supple, and will occasionally, of course, produce a good bowler. But, curiously enough, even in their own climate, I have never seen that they were any better in the field than Englishmen, and they were certainly not in the same category with Australians, who, owing to climatic surroundings, have a far greater capacity for throwing long distances than have their brothers in Great Britain. Indian cricketers will probably for a long time have difficulty in combining together so as to send about the world teams composed of mixed religions. That is the weakness of India, but this is a minor difficulty, and of but small importance as compared with giving the youth of India some healthy occupation in their leisure hours. That Indians appreciate the great merits of cricket is a great compliment to the Mother-country. If they remember me in connection with the spread of interest in cricket out there I am very grateful, for I bear in the happiest recollection what my old friend Mr. Framji Patel once said of me, that "in cricket matters I was their 'guru.'"

HARRIS.

### THE DARKNESS OVER EGYPT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

Will you kindly allow me to express my appreciation of the reasonable and sensible article in your last issue, and to offer some explanation as to the report that £60,000 was spent to build a road from Sakhara to Cairo merely to convey the statue of Ramses II. to the new square at Cairo Station. That statement was, doubtless, based on wrong information for two obvious reasons; first, there is no "room" to construct such a road between Sakhara and Cairo, and, secondly, it is quite easy to convey any monument a dozen times as heavy as the statue of Ramses II., either by boat on the Nile or by the existing railways. If an "agricultural road" has been constructed in that locality it would not cost more than £6,000, whereas Sakhara is only a short distance from the Pyramids of Giza, where there is already an excellent road direct to Cairo. The need for a road to Helouan (spelt in the article Heaouan) has been very badly felt by Cairenes and the inhabitants of that beautiful suburb (which is a winter invalid residence).

Other statements in the article are put in a very sensible and, in fact, authoritative style that is worthy of admiration as grasping the truth and hinting at certain delicate matters that make the Egyptian situation so obscure, and have resulted in a misconception of recent reforms.

Yours very truly,

ALI FAHMI MOHAMED.

### EPIRUS: EUROPE'S LATEST CRUX

DEAR SIR,

In view of the splendid work done by the *ASIATIC REVIEW* at all times, and especially during the Balkan War, on behalf of oppressed nationalities, I feel I cannot do better than to ask for space in your corre-

spondence columns for the publication of some first-hand information on the demands of Epirus for autonomy and the Articles of the Constitution submitted by her.

When I was a child I lived in a beautiful district among the Surrey hills, and I remember delightful shuddering sensations caused by tales told of an eccentric astronomer who had his observatory in the heart of the "Devil's Nose," one of these "mountains," and kept his coffin beside him, as his sole companion by day and by night.

But the most vivid memory is associated with the reptiles of the neighbourhood. I used to lie awake in speechless wonderment trying to interpret in human language the conversations of the myriads of frogs, whose croakings made the night—to me at least—musical. And my joy was to steal away, all alone, and to dig deep pits in the sandy soil—no easy task, as the earth was so dry and friable. But when I had successfully banked up the sides of my pit, then I sought for occupants. My victims were small toads and frogs. I loved the little beings immensely, and would tenderly place half a dozen of them at the bottom of my pit, and watch with an ecstasy of delight the poor prisoners, sisyphus-like, slowly climb the elusive sides, only to be put back, with gentle determination, in order to go through the whole wearisome process over and over again. Their only chance of escape was when I was summoned to the inevitable meals.

I do not think anyone suspected this pastime of mine. Our nurse, appropriately nicknamed "Noodle," was a most superstitious person. She would not have touched one of my pets to save her life. "They spit poison!" she would cry; "and some day we shall find you all swollen and black, poisoned to death by the wicked things!" Indeed, my early demise was often predicted, because, except for loving lizards and other uncanny creatures, I was a "good" child—that is, I never cried when she unduly pulled my wind-tangled hair, and took reasonable care of my white frocks. So "Noodle" turned her attention to her younger charges, and left me to enjoy a delightful lack of supervision.

Since those days I have often asked myself: Are there, perchance, baby World-Powers who play with the destinies of planets and peoples as thoughtless humans trifle with human and sub-human life? And the knowledge that there was nothing but love in my childish heart for the fascinating creatures which I unwittingly tormented has helped me to hope that the same may be true on the higher levels of existence.

I rarely come into touch with diplomacy and *la haute politique* without living through that childish experience once more. And its memory keeps me from cynicism and bitterness, from wanting to follow the rash advice given to Job "to curse God and die."\*

\* Here is one item told me by a trustworthy witness. When a cottage is visited in search of rifles, if none are found, the woman in charge is asked where they are concealed. There may be no rifles, or she may know nothing about them. A pot is put on the fire, and eggs are boiled hard. Two of the scalding hot eggs are put under the armpits of the poor woman, and her arms are held tightly down. The eggs are replaced by fresh ones as they cool, and my informant told me he had seen many women with the armpits and breasts ulcerated as a result of this torture.

Looking round Europe to-day, my old amusement seems to be in full swing. Like "Noodle," Dame Europa insists that her charges, her representatives, shall be "good." If Englishmen, they must be assiduous "five-o'clockers," and in all cases they must be faultlessly groomed, colourless, gentle-mannered persons. Given these provisors, Dame Europa leaves them to work their own sweet wills with the hapless minor nationalities, just as "Noodle" left the poor froggies to my tender mercies a generation ago.

The daily Press keeps the general public informed as to Europe's view of the revolution in Epirus. Therefore, in order to judge justly, it is essential to know what the Epirotes think and demand.

They ask why the Albanians should be permitted—nay, encouraged—to drive the people of Epirus from their rightful position. Why should they be used as pawns in the conflicting interests of the Powers? They complain bitterly that the Greek Government, which fought for their liberation, now readily sells them in order to obtain something of greater value in exchange. That is their simple point of view, and it fills their hearts with misery and despair.

When it was found that the "iniquitous" frontier lines drawn by Sir Edward Grey, with a fine oblivion of natural and racial differences, would be adhered to, they refused to credit the fact. They could not believe that the army would be withdrawn, and only with the departure of the last remnants of that army did they realize that they were to be abandoned to their cruel fate.

Then, to use the words of one who was present, "as one man, stung to their feet, the Epirotes received that peculiar inspiration which is ever breathed into mankind when a step forward is to be taken in the sacred cause of freedom, and Epirus, the cradle of the Hellenic arts and culture which have blessed the whole human race, agonizing, alone, unsupported, without money, determined to fight for the right to live her own life, or to die in the attempt."

Before passing on to the political aspect, I should like to give a brief account of the relief work organized at Santi Quaranta by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Duncan. It forms the one bright spot in the lurid picture of suffering and horror, and restores faith in human love and goodness.

I am indebted for some of the details to the Greek Review, *Erevna*, the editor of which received them at first hand from Mr. Duncan, whom I, too, had the privilege of meeting before I left England.

The beginning of this work was very simple. Around Santi Quaranta are forty burnt villages, and a list has been made of about 16,000 people, the inhabitants of these villages, who are without any possible means of support or of earning their livelihood. They cultivate the land on the sharing principle, receiving two-thirds of the products, and the proprietor one-third, but for the last two years have been unable to work their fields. All the men of the district have been doing military service, thus preventing them from cultivating the land, even had it been otherwise possible, for they have no plough animals—these having all been consumed in the war—and no seed. No attempt has been made to assist these people, except



that during some four or five months the Government distributed rations of Indian corn, and when these rations were stopped, the duties on foodstuffs were raised to as much as 15, 40, and 100 per cent. of their value.

When Mr. Raymond Duncan and his wife went over to Santi Quaranta, they found the people without bread and the children needing care. Bread is the staple food of the country. Despite the fact that the people were starving, and that it was well known that Mr. Duncan was there to help them, not one person begged assistance, no one ever asked for a single thing during the whole year. Thus, in order to assist them, work and not charity must be given. His intention from the beginning was to help, not a single group, but the entire country. His first step, therefore, was to buy up all the wool that the people had to sell. That provided them with money. This enabled him to distribute the wool among 750 odd women to spin. These were paid for their spinning as they brought their work in. Then a great quantity of canvas was purchased, and some 115 women were employed in sewing tents. They did not know how to use a needle, so a tailor was brought from Corfu to teach them. These tents were then used for schools and dormitories for the children. Teachers were employed to gather the children together as far as possible, and carpenters were brought over and set to making blackboards, benches, and other necessary articles, including weaving-looms. Then Mrs. Duncan taught the women to weave the threads they had spun. Although clever, these women learnt with difficulty. They seemed afraid of doing things that were new and strange to them.

But with all these efforts, relief did not reach a large enough proportion of the people, so it was declared that all wood, branches, and rushes found in the country should be regarded as money, and very soon men, women, and children were seen returning from the mountains laden with the precious spoil which was to purchase for them the needed food and shelter. These branches and rushes were used to build houses. The locality chosen for the erection of tents and thatched houses was the site of the ancient city of Onchismos, of which the original walls were still standing. In order to give employment to the old men, the work of excavating and of laying foundations for permanent buildings was started. All these people were invited to a common table as long as they were thus employed.

As before stated, bread is the staple food. It was being bought at the price of fifty centimes an oka (about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  pounds), and as even each child would eat an oka of bread a day, the expense was heavy. One of the ancient ruins, therefore, was turned into a bakery. Then discovering that the price paid for flour was too high (forty-seven centimes an oka), it was decided to import it direct from the mills, likewise rice and other staple food. This resulted in the starting of a store. The flour was imported from Russia and Italy, and was sold at cost price, as well as the bread. Later, on account of the enormous spread of the business, it was found that the attempt to sell at cost price was impossible. For, in order to avoid loss, also to make the price even, some slight difference, either above

or below actual cost, was necessary, and during the three months before the outbreak of the revolutionary movement the profits from the bakery and store paid for the food of the entire colony; but after that event the distress became so acute that goods were given away as well as sold, so all the profits were eaten up.

The social and financial value of this experiment is so great that it is worth while to go a little further into the details. Things were made for the use of the colony, sold to others at cost price, sometimes given away, and later on sold at a slight profit. This made the transfer of goods so large and so rapid that they could be obtained at a cheaper rate. Merchants from the interior came to buy from the store, and had to pay slightly above the actual cost. This was one of the sources of profit. Again, bread was at first sold at twenty-five centimes the oka; later, on account of the tremendous increase in the sales, necessitating the building of a second and much larger bakery, the price was raised to thirty centimes an oka. This turned the loss into profit. The capacity of the bakeries was now 1,740 okas a day, which gave a profit of fifty-two francs. The profit from the flour rose in this way: The merchants bought it by caravan lots—twenty to forty sacks, each horse carrying one sack—which produced an immediate profit of from thirty to sixty francs a caravan. Dr. Duncan then started exporting yarn to the various groups of his weaving pupils in Europe, and through those centres found a ready sale for rugs, divan-covers, and other articles.

It may now be asked, Why, with all this success, are funds needed at this moment to carry on the work? As a matter of fact, for every penny of the money that has been spent in whatever manner during the year of relief work, more than double its value can be shown to-day in stock and in buildings. In the warehouses are thousands of francs' worth of lumber, tiles, and other materials. Also many thousand francs' worth of woven goods and threads are at this moment prevented being exported on account of the blockade. And Mr. Raymond Duncan was compelled to come to Europe because he has not a penny left. His flour and foodstuffs are rotting at the Customs office, and the people are dying of cold and hunger. One of the principal objects of this colony is the starting of a school for people of all ages—a school that shall include the entire population; and the teaching of this school has not as its aim the training of the people to make their living, but it gives them the living itself. This is its basic principle, and the living thus given will be provided in such a way that it can be as easily obtained in the farthest village as in the central school itself.

Most important and final in the object is the bringing to life activities and occupations or methods of relaxation and repose which shall become a reward for living—a recompense for life's activities. The students in this school are not working to live, they are living to work.

In the life of the village, the pastoral and village life, there are no theatres, no cinematographs, no concerts, no libraries, but it is the thing itself, of which all these things are but poor imitations. The problem of

the employment of that time which is not necessary to the production of things for use will not be studied in the school.

The life of the school will be the life of the village. The students will not be taught what to do, but will be given a habit. The school will be an ideal village, where all of the time is occupied in the most practical manner for production, recreation, and repose. Here is a simple illustration of what this means: At school children learn to read and write. They leave the school, and read or write bad or good things according to their opportunities. In a perfect school, where the student never leaves school, opportunities are organized. In a technical school children learn trades and occupations, and after leaving school succeed or fail in life according to opportunities. In a fully organized school, where the pupils never leave, there is a single, unbroken line of organized labours, occupations, and recreations.

The chief Articles of the Constitution demanded by Epirus are as follows:

*Article I.*—The Articles of the Constitution, being the expression of justice and the inspiration of the spirit of the revolution, cannot be changed.

*Article II.*—All the laws and the Governors shall be submitted to the direct vote of the whole people, without distinction of race, nationality, religion, or position, and shall be able to be withdrawn as readily as they have been agreed upon, without the observation of any fixed period.

*Article III.*—The same treatment for all, without distinction of race, nationality, religion, or position.

*Article IV.*—Autonomy of the villages, limited only by the Constitution. Departmental Government under the direction of the Village Government. General Government under the direction of the Village Government, but with the right of supreme control for the protection of the Constitution.

*Article V.*—Taxes levied on values, and groups of values, and not on individuals.

*Article VI.*—The Law Courts and the police shall be engaged only in criminal questions. There shall be a special system of arbitration for questions referring to values.

Articles V. and VI. are of special interest. Mr. Duncan has been for eleven months in friendly relations with the villages of Epirus and "Southern Albania," and these articles of a Constitution, drawn up by him, embody the aspirations and desires of all their inhabitants, Christian and Mussulman. Before starting for Europe to seek support for the movement in favour of autonomy, he laid the plan before the Members of the Provisional Government, who declared that it formulated their convictions and the true aim of the revolution in Epirus.

I conclude with an interesting letter from President Zographos, which shows that the movement in Epirus is not a war of religion or nationality, but a veritable rising of a whole people, demanding the just right of self-government.

ARGYROCASTRO,  
March 13-26, 1914.

DEAR MR. DUNCAN,

I have gone through your brief statement of principles with great interest, and am happy to be able to say that the ideas you express are just those invoked by our autonomy. We are attempting, in fact, to give to this unhappy people of Epirus a local life which will permit them to develop an individual life of their own, without its existence depending on the fortunes of the new Albanian State, without them being animated by an unfriendly feeling against their neighbours.

Accept the assurance of my best wishes,  
(Signed) I, CHRISTAKI ZOGRAPHOS.

This brief sketch is designed to show how extensive is the relief work undertaken on behalf of Epirus, and how worthy of greater encouragement.

Yours truly,  
F. R. SCATCHERD.

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“TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA”

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “ASIATIC REVIEW”

April 24, 1914.

SIR,

My attention has been called to certain correspondence in your columns about the above book between Mr. J. D. Bede and Mr. Charles Rosher, in which the former refers to a criticism of it in *India*, the organ of the British India Congress Committee.

As far as I know, that is the only really unfavourable criticism the book has met with (as you may see from the Press notices, of which I enclose a copy), and the chief sting of it is almost neutralized by the fact that Sir William Wedderburn occupies an equally prominent place on the back page of the cover, and he is, perhaps, the chief supporter of the British India Congress Committee.

I may just add that he is still, I am happy to say, a Member of our Council and Sir J. D. Ross is not.

Yours truly,  
J. B. PENNINGTON.

# SUPPLEMENT

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

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THE LIFE OF JOHN EDWARD ELLIS. By A. Tilney Bassett (*Macmillan and Co.*). Price 7s. 6d.

"A man should make it a part of his religion to see that his country is well governed." These words spoken by J. E. Ellis in an address may well be applied to his own career. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and his political opinions were inspired by his religious convictions. Viscount Bryce, in his preface to the book, says: "His nature was a kindly one—large in its charity, and his hatred of oppression or wrong was rooted in his own tenderness and took on no type of self-righteousness." We may add that he knew to blend with these qualities a sound business judgment. This was the man who represented Rushcliffe in Parliament from 1886 to 1910, and in 1906 filled the post of under-Secretary for India. On his appointment he was said to declare that the India Office was held by its staff to be second to none of the great departments in efficiency, unless it were that of the Revenue as remodelled by Mr. Gladstone. All his life through Ellis had laboured to suppress the Opium Trade, and he now used his influence in that cause.

This book will be read by everybody interested in the proceedings at Westminster during the last twenty-five years. The graphic notes in his diary and the descriptions in his letters bring before us very vividly scenes and situations, which, though matters of the past, are full of bearing on present issues. Ireland, South Africa, and the question of armaments have had his especial attention, and his opinions will be the more valued as not only because it was honest, but also because it was never given lightly. He was a seeker no less than a speaker of truth. Lord Morley has well expressed the effect which personal contact with him produced in the hearts and minds of men of affairs. "For so many years he had been a true and close friend of mine and I of his. We travelled over many a rough place together, and one bit of the journey might well have made a strain if he had been less unselfish, less single-minded. Yet we never parted company for an hour. Among my crowded memories, none can move me more than my unbroken friendship with so true-hearted and faithful a comrade. He was one of those who made political life tolerable, and when he left my room at the India Office, but a few days before I left it myself, he carried with him nothing but affectionate

thoughts from me, and I am sure he felt just the same. We little thought it was the final farewell, and that we should see one another no more. I shall regret him as long as I live."

2. ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN; or, The Central and Western Rajpoot States of India. By Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod. Popular edition, London. (*George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.* 1914.) 2 vols, 8vo. Price 10s. net.

Of the many books which have been written upon the history, archæology, and antiquities of India, few until lately have shown the amount of research and devoted enthusiasm evinced by the writings of English officers during the early part of the nineteenth century. Noble books, well printed and illustrated, lacking, perhaps, here and there in the qualities of hypercriticism found in later works for which they paved the way, they remain to this day valuable tomes filled with information gathered at first hand. They command a high price when, perchance, some copy strays into the auction room, and the work of which Messrs. Routledge have just published a popular reprint is a striking illustration of that rise in venal value. The scarce original quarto edition of 1829-1832, together with the later volume of *Travels*, are quoted in a recent catalogue £34. To students such a price for a book leaves but one alternative—to read it in the stifling atmosphere of the British Museum. Luck, however, lay await in the versatility of Dr. Douglas Sladen, who, finding it difficult to secure a copy as a work of reference in his preparation of a biography of Zalimsing the Great, enlisted the generous financial help of H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, descendant of Zalim Sing the Great, thanks to which Messrs. Routledge were enabled to reprint in two thick volumes the whole work, a mere excerpt of which had been available before at a popular price. Now, close on 1,250 pages, a map, sundries, tables, and two large folding charts of the genealogies from the semi-mythical period to the eighth century, completed by a lengthy index, are available at a price which makes of the book a gift, for which the thanks of all interested readers are due to Dr. Sladen, to H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar and to the publishers. May their example be followed!—H. L. JOLI.

3. THE PEOPLE OF ARMENIA. By Archag Tchobanian. Translated by G. M. Gregory. (*Dent.*) Price 1s. 6d.

We welcome the appearance of a translation by Mr. G. Marcon Gregory of Archag Tchobanian's book on Armenia. The subject of Armenia is familiar to Englishmen owing to its association with the name of Mr. Gladstone; but it must be confessed that most of our fellow-countrymen are profoundly ignorant of the country and its inhabitants. The book contains a short history of the Armenian people, an account of its poetry and art, and the philosophic conceptions which underlie them, and the personalities which created them, and concludes with an eloquent appeal to the sympathies of English people.—P. S. C.

4. THE IMMOVABLE EAST. By P. J. Baldensperger. (*Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd.*) Edited by Frederic Lees.

As one closes Mr. Baldensperger's interesting volume, one's thoughts return instinctively to Mr. Lees' neat biographical introduction, to endorse most cordially his opinion that "books descriptive of the East may be roughly divided into three classes: First, the "impressions" of literary men who set themselves the difficult task, after a more or less lengthy stay in the Orient, of faithfully representing Oriental scenes, manners and customs. Secondly, those written by professional Orientalists whose special linguistic studies and extensive travels entitle them to be ranked as authorities." Thirdly, we must add the necessarily small class of works where the writer has both the inner knowledge of life in all its phases in his adopted country, and the rare and delicate humanizing touch which sets in easy motion and brilliant colours, the everyday figures of its people—and to this class these essays and stories of our author certainly belong.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of his career—in itself a stirring romance—Mr. Baldensperger is able to tell us the story of the Fellahin and Bedawin as an Oriental would do, for, as his collaborator, the late Claude Regnier Conder (the author of "Tent-Work in Palestine"), once said, "He is a voice from the East," an accurate witness to many an almost unknown side of things in the Holy Land. The son of a missionary-agriculturist in Judæa, he passed his early days in wandering among its wild tribes, and his later youth in the rather original occupation of bee-farming, finally taking to the pen on his retirement to Europe—with the pleasant results now before us.

For those who have eyes to see there is infinite fascination in the discovery of how small is the change from Biblical days, in the racy tales of modern Bedawi thought and action—real allurements in the pictures of the Djinn-seeing Dervishes, who differ so slightly from the men like Saul at Endor, and the antiphonal songs and the dances of Miriam, the living counterpart of the Mosaic heroine of chants and psalms.

Also there is much glamour in the fantastic Vision of Ehmah Imhamad—as vivid as anything in the very Arabian Nights—and the tale of Hassan and Sabha, whose love, awakened by the song of the wandering bard, grew till they eloped from Jerusalem; while the saga of the Lady of Her Brethren—a Deborah of to-day—reach the highest level of romance founded upon fact.

The sketches of the Life of Dogs, and the Council of Creatures, and Life in the Thicket, are delightful Nature-studies, while we never lose the thread of able comparison of Old with New, thus binding together the Eternally Immovable East in a most scholarly and instructive web.

There are admirable photographs of places and people throughout, so that the book should certainly lie in the valise of every intelligent tourist who braves the surf at Jaffa en route for Jerusalem.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

## LITERARY GOSSIP

The long promised book of Mr. Sidney Whitman entitled "Turkish Memories" was published on May 6 by Mr. Heinemann. Himself a personal friend of Abdul Hamid, and with the additional advantage of a knowledge of Turkey extending over the last twelve years, he will give to the public an authoritative book which will differ from the many hastily written volumes which have come before our notice since the war.

Messrs. Cassell are publishing another book from the sensational pen of Count Paul Vassili, entitled "France from behind the Veil." It extends from the reign of the last Napoleon to the present day. Another authority on France, Sir Thomas Barclay, is to give us a work on the inner development of Anglo-French relations for the last thirty years,

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Indian poet, will issue translations into English of two of his plays, under the titles of "Chitra" and "The Post-Office." These volumes will be published by Messrs. Macmillan, who have also on their list Professor James Ten Brocke's work, "A Constructive Basis for Theology," and "Mysticism and the Creed," by the Rev. W. F. Cobb.

This month three new Reviews of interest to our readers have been started. *The Chinese Review* will deal exclusively with far Eastern affairs, and will be published monthly in London. In view of the increasing interest which the reformed—or reforming—China is bound to command, we welcome it and wish it every success. Wider in its scope and its appeal is the *Britannic Review*, of which the first number has just been issued. And then there is the *Indiaman*, which will be a weekly, issued from the same offices as that exceedingly valuable and authoritative periodical, *The Near East*.

The general programme of the Third International Congress of Tropical Agriculture, containing detailed information in regard to arrangements for the Congress, will be issued on or before May 30.

*The African Times and Oriental Review* is now being issued as a weekly, and a meeting was held under its auspices on April 22 at the Caxton Hall.

The Egypt Exploration Fund has issued "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri," Part X., edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Fragments from a collection of sayings of Jesus are included in this part.

The same publisher also issues "The Cemeteries of Abydos," Part III., by T. E. Peet and W. L. S. Loat. This volume gives the results of excavations made in two hitherto unexplored cities of the dead at Abydos.

*Ararat*, the organ of the Armenian United Association of London, contains in the current number an account of the recent Kurdish raid into Armenia. By special request the article by F. R. Scatcherd on Armenia, which was published in the April number of the *Asiatic Review*, has been reprinted therein.



## MEETING AT THE MANSION HOUSE IN SUPPORT OF A SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ON May 6 a meeting was held, with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor (Sir Vansittart Bowater) in the chair, and the following motions were put to the house and carried unanimously :

(1) Proposed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I., seconded by Lord Reay, K.T. :

“That in view of the great Imperial and commercial interests dependent on adequate provision being made for instruction in the languages, the literature, and the social customs of Oriental and African countries, this meeting desires heartily to support the scheme for the foundation of a School of Oriental Studies in the City of London.

(2) Proposed by Lord Inchcape, seconded by Mr. Faithfull Begg :

“That this meeting desires to commend to the commercial community of the City of London and to the general public an appeal for the funds necessary to enable the School of Oriental Studies to be opened in 1915 on a satisfactory basis.

(3) Vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, proposed by the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., Secretary of State for India, seconded by Sir Montagu Turner.

The importance of the establishment of a School for Oriental Studies in England was, as our readers will remember, recognized very early by the late Dr. G. W. Leitner, who founded an Oriental University at the end of last century at Woking, Surrey. His sudden death unfortunately put an end to a scheme which had every promise of success. But we agree that the establishment of such a school in the very heart of London—at the London Institute—would be far more suitable, and in view of the eloquent appeals of Earl Curzon, Lord Reay, Lord Crewe, and others, we trust that this great need will be filled. A list has been given to us enumerating the principal languages to be taught in the school, and contains seven groups, under the following headings : The Near East, North and Eastern India, Western India, Southern India, Further India, the Far East, and Africa.

Donations may be made in one or more of the following ways :

1. Capital sums for the general endowment of the school. (It is hoped that the Endowment Fund may amount to not less than £100,000.)
2. Capital sums for the endowment of particular professorships or readerships.
3. Capital sums for the endowment of the library.
4. Annual subscriptions for a term of years.

Cheques are to be made payable to Sir Montagu Turner, c/o the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, 38, Bishopsgate Street, E.C.

## OBITUARY

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### MR. CHARLES W. McMINN

ANOTHER distinguished Irishman has passed away from the rolls of the Indian Civil Service in the person of Mr. Charles W. McMinn, who died in Calcutta on March 25. Mr. McMinn was a graduate of Queen's College, Belfast and entered the Civil Service in 1863, serving first in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and subsequently in the Central Provinces. He retired in 1891, and undertook the management of the estates of the Raja of Hill Tippera. He was a devoted student of the history of British India, especially on its economic side, and will be chiefly remembered as the compiler of the first Gazetteer of Oudh, and as having contributed to the East India Association an exhaustive paper on "The Wealth and Progress of India," setting forth salient facts, and exposing serious fictions in connection therewith. He has left behind him, we understand, ample material for an *Economic History of British India*. As a friend and companion he had all the genial warmth of the Irish nature, and was the most amusing of story-tellers, making his points with boyish impulsiveness. His handwriting used to be the terror of his correspondents, but his letters were well worth deciphering on account of their wit and wisdom. With the Indians he was, like most Irishmen, usually a favourite, and he had considerable tact and patience in listening to their complaints. He was a brother of Stephen McMinn, a Bombay civilian, who died many years ago, but whose memory still lives amongst the people of Western India; and he and a numerous band of brothers were brought up by a maiden aunt—a lady of sterling worth and high accomplishments once well-known in Belfast.

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### MR. ROBERT FORREST

The death took place recently at West Bournemouth of Mr. Robert Edward Treston Forrest, late of the Indian Public Works Department, in his eightieth year. He was the eldest son of Captain George Forrest, of the East India Company's Army, who won the Victoria Cross for sharing in the gallant deed whereby, on the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut, the Delhi Arsenal was held by half a dozen Englishmen, and then blown up to prevent the stores falling into the hands of the enemy. A younger brother is Sir George Forrest, the Anglo-Indian historian.

Mr. Forrest, after being educated in this country, went out to the Public Works Department, and served for a quarter of a century in the Irrigation Branch. He prepared the design for the Lower Ganges Canal—an important work, serving the southern and eastern portions of the Doab, or land between the two great rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna. The canal, which was opened in 1878, holds a conspicuous place among the snow-fed irrigation streams of Northern India, and irrigates some 830,000 acres. In the course of his surveys, Mr. Forrest discovered (1860) one of the rock-cut edicts of Asoka, the great Buddhist monarch, which is well known to scholars as the Khalsi inscription.

As a writer Mr. Forrest is best known for his "Eight Days"—a wonderful story of experiences in the Mutiny, which, originally published in three volumes, had a great sale in a cheap edition not many years ago. His numerous contributions to periodicals showed a remarkable knowledge of India and her peoples, kept fresh by constant study and by diligent attendance at Indian lectures and discussions. His contributions over a long series of years to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (now the *Asiatic Review*) were very numerous. Both in appearance and manner he was typical of the hardy Anglo-Indian accustomed to an outdoor life in the sweltering plains of Hindustan.

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## OUR INDIAN MAIL

THE National Congress Deputation to this country has arrived. Amongst other grievances, the existing Press Laws in India need urgent attention, and will be placed before the Secretary of State for India and the British public. We hope the visit of the deputation will result in lasting good to India.

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The mystery surrounding the outbreaks of fire on the Cotton Green, Bombay, remains unsolved. In spite of all preventive and protective measures fresh cotton fires continue to be reported almost every week. No fewer than thirty-two fires occurred between January 28 and April 9 last, causing damage to the extent of over £400,000. A special committee has been appointed by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to inquire into the causes of these fires, and to recommend measures to guard against outbreaks in the future.

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April is the month of Political, Social, Industrial, and Educational Conferences in India, and one or more of these were held in every province of the Indian Empire. Leaving aside the political conferences—these, for some time to come, must need consist of mere protests and protestations, prayers and petitions—one looks in vain for any actual result, out of so much activity in educational, social, and industrial thought!

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The appeal by Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society, from a judgment of the High Court of Madras, respecting the guardianship of two Hindu boys, was allowed on the question of jurisdiction. Mr. Narayaniah, the father of these two youths, had appointed Mrs. Besant their guardian in 1910; they accompanied her to England, and have been prosecuting their studies since then. In 1912, the respondent wrote to Mrs. Besant, cancelling her guardianship and requiring her to hand over the boys to him in Madras. Mrs. Besant refused, and hence this litigation.

Judgment of the district court against Mrs. Besant was upheld by the High Court of Madras, but has been reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Mr. Younger, K.C., Sir Erle Richards K.C., Mr. R. W.

Turnbull, and Mr. S. Siuh from Behar, appeared for the appellant; Mr. Kenworthy Brown for the respondent; and the Lord Advocate, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Ingram for the two youths.

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## THE DRAMA

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### THE MELTING-POT

WHEN a dramatist takes the dominating ideal of his chief character as the title of his play, the spectator's dramatic sense demands that that ideal shall to some extent be articulated throughout the action of the play, apart from its particular association with one character. What makes Ibsen's "Master Builder" such an amazing artistic achievement is the union of dramatic and literary content, the whole action, nay the form itself, of the play being charged with ideal significance. In such a case, the idea in very truth becomes flesh and inhabits the stage.

The idea of the "Melting-Pot" is a fine one, and from the dramatic point of view it would seem to us irrelevant to discuss whether America is worthy of it or not. America supplies us imaginatively with all the scenic essentials to the conception of a vast new country as a crucible wherein from the heterogeneous migrating races, from the stained outcasts of innumerable yesterdays, there shall issue at last, through the purging fires, the splendid citizen of to-morrow. But, except for the expression of this ideal as an ideal by the young Jew, David Quixano, "The Melting Pot" does not realize this. It is a very big exception, we grant, for Mr. White-side's David Quixano is quite extraordinary and wonderful, conveying to us not only his own particular tragedy but the universal aspect of it, and so quietly relating the two that there is never a trace, as there so easily might have been, of an inflated self-consciousness.

It is, after all, because of the vitality, the flesh and blood qualities with which David invests his ideal, that we are disappointed with the texture of the rest of the play.

Perhaps it is unreasonable, having regard to stage limitations, to expect to see America on the stage and to want to realize something of the vast welter of forces that inspired the young Jewish idealist. But, on the other hand, the dramatist is imposing a great strain on our imagination when he obliges us to focus upon a tiny area of Jewish life in New York, and one so little in touch with the hum and stir of existence in general that even a footfall in the street outside awakens our curiosity. Also the rather highly marked individualities, as acted, of three out of the five other characters (the two remaining being in considerably lower relief), while extremely creditable to the actors concerned, demand, we think, a more spacious background than actually is provided. Space and depth are what the play needs, for just as much as the real America defies stage-representation, so the ideal of the "Melting-Pot" is cramped within the boundaries of an intensely personal drama.

For all that in the last act the material outlook widens to a view from a roof-terrace of the city by night with the statue of Liberty twinkling very

solidly in the shallow distance, we had a sense—not a little stifling to our appreciation—of the material situation being uppermost, the practical present facts, including a most matter-of-fact elevator, being in control of the Ideal and assisting at its triumph. The purging fires took rather too commonplace a shape for us to believe in them entirely.—I. C. W.

### KISMET—GLOBE THEATRE

The revival of "Kismet," the play that created a great sensation in London a few years ago, goes to prove, if any further proof were needed, the popularity of Eastern subjects on the London stage. "Kismet" is not a drama in the modern sense, but Mr. Knoblauch has succeeded in giving in a series of scenes a better insight into the Eastern mind than can be attained after long personal experience. To Hajj everything is fated. He accepts with equal complaisance the good and evil of life, attributing it both to the Divine will. Hence his enjoyment of life is in a manner beyond the dreams of the most fortunate of Western mortals.

Great praise is due to Mr. Oscar Asche for not only looking his part, but also *feeling* it in a most convincing manner. Miss Lily Brayton's charm is unabated, and gives full scope to the possibilities of her part as an Eastern lady. We left the theatre feeling happy, and with the conviction that the East can help us more in the problems and struggles of our daily life than the "advanced dramas" dealing with the lurid side of Western life, which by some "Kismet and unkind fate" we are more accustomed to see.

# HEDGES

AND

# BUTLER

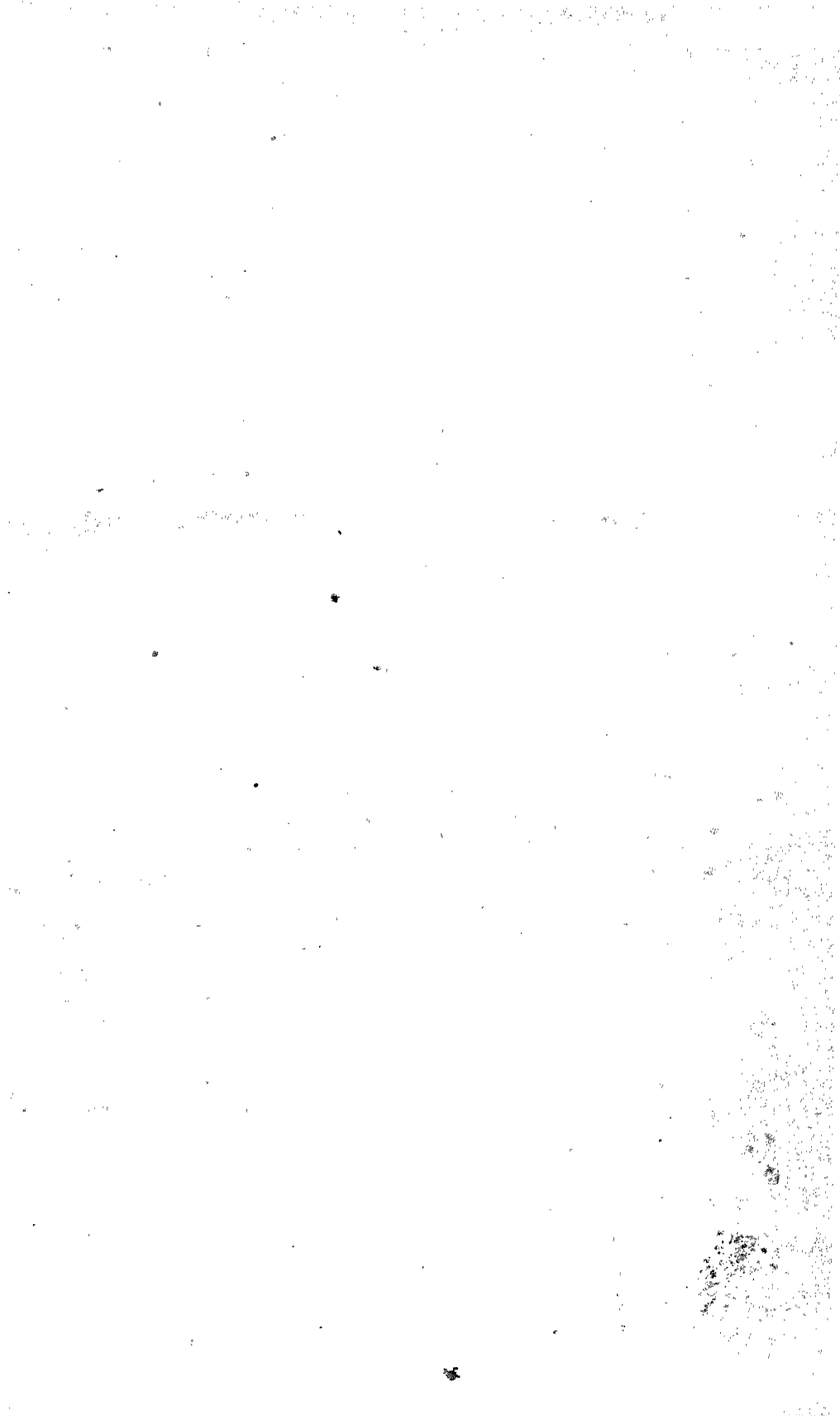
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